

# **THE CONCEPT OF THE MAHDI AMONG AHL AL-SUNNA**

**Suhaib Hasan**

Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of  
Ph.D.

Department of Theology

Faculty of Arts

The University of Birmingham

October 1991

## “The Concept of the *Mahdi* among *Ahl al-Sunna*”

### SYNOPSIS

The Mahdi, “the guided one”, has been popularly awaited throughout Islamic history as a just and pious leader who would be extremely successful during his reign over the Muslims. This study aims to investigate the concept of the Mahdi among *Ahl al-Sunna* according to the methodology of the traditionists, and is divided into five parts: the Introduction, Parts One, Two and Three, and the Conclusion.

The Introduction, which is divided into five sections, deals initially with the earliest written Sunni sources on the subject of the Mahdi. Of these, the most important for the subject of this study is *Kitāb al-Fitan* of Nu‘aim b. Hammād (d. 228 AH), which only exists in manuscript form, and reasons are given for choosing this particular collection as a substantial basis for this study. A brief summary of the opinions held by various scholars with regard to the Mahdi is then given, and lists of scholars who either endorsed or rejected the idea of the Mahdi on this issue are provided in the form of Appendices. Further, the main points of agreement and difference between the Sunnis and the Shi‘ites concerning this concept are presented.

Because the idea of the Mahdi has been firmly rooted in the minds of the Muslim masses for centuries, many individuals throughout Islamic history have claimed this title for themselves or others and based movements, whether political or otherwise, on it; concise accounts of these figures are also included in the Introduction.

The main body of this study is based around a selection of one hundred and forty-six ahadith on the subject of the Mahdi: thirteen from *al-Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī (d. 211), one hundred and twenty-two from the above-mentioned *Kitāb al-Fitan*, and eleven from the collections of various prominent later traditionists, such as Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241), Ibn Māja (d. 273), Abū Dāwūd (d. 275) and Tirmidhī (d. 279).

Part One, which is divided into four chapters, contains the English translation of the text of each hadith, and ends with a summary of the distinctive features of the Mahdi as portrayed by these texts collected by the end of the third century AH.

**Part Two**, which is divided into six chapters, is devoted to the analysis of these aḥādīth. Each isnād is given and analysed according to the principles laid down by the traditionists for the criticism of Ḥadīth. Since these principles, known as *Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth*, are repeatedly referred to in the course of this analysis, an exhaustive introduction to *al-Muṣṭalah* precedes the discussion on the aḥādīth. Although the isnād and text of each ḥadīth is the ultimate basis on which its authenticity is judged, the historical aspects of the aḥādīth, so favoured by the orientalist, are also treated in the form of critical reviews of the writings of two prominent European writers on the subject of the Mahdi.

**The Conclusion** depicts the Mahdi in the light of those aḥādīth which are found to be authentic, leaving aside all narrations which fail the test of authenticity.

The above-mentioned aḥādīth are given in full in the original Arabic in **Part Three**.

The whole study, excluding the Arabic text in Part Three, consists of sixty-five thousand words.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. David Kerr, former Director of the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak College, who was a great help to me as I embarked on this study five years ago; to Dr. Jorgen S. Nielsen, for his valuable supervision after the departure of Dr. Kerr to the U.S.A.; and to Dr. M. Ibrahim Surti, who honoured me with his suggestions and guidance while I was in the final stages of compiling this thesis.

I would also like to thank my son, Usama, and his colleague, Farhat Abbas, for typing the manuscript, a laborious task which confined them to the computer desk for many days and nights. Finally, my daughter Khola deserves my deepest appreciation for her effort in going through my work and correcting my English.

I wish them all success and a happy future.



## Notes on Typography, Transliteration and Arabic Terms

- A. Unlike the normal practice of mentioning each Arabic name preceded by the definite article 'al-' where appropriate, I have followed Schacht's way of dropping it before names most commonly used in this study. For example, the following names appear without 'al-' if they are not preceded by 'ibn' or 'b.': Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Tirmidhī, Shafi'ī and their like.

As for *hamzat al-waṣl* (the hamza of continuity), it has been retained, e.g. in 'Abd al-Raḥmān, except in two cases:

(i) where it is preceded by Abu; in this case, it is written as e.g. Abū l-Ḥasan, not Abū al-Ḥasan;

(ii) where 'Abd precedes the Divine Name, i.e. 'Abdullāh, not 'Abd Allāh.

- B. The following common Arabic terms are left unitalicised: ḥadīth, aḥadīth, isnād, asānīd, shaikh.

- C. The Arabic of Mecca and Medina (i.e. Makka and Madīna respectively) is followed, except when these words do not occur as part of a quotation translated from Arabic.

- D. Some Arabic terms commonly used in this study are as follows:

fitna (pl. fitan): trial, trouble, affliction.

S.A.S.: *Sall Allāh 'alaih wa Sallam*, i.e. may Allah have mercy upon him and bless him (the Prophet Muhammad).

shaikh: the teacher of a reporter of hadith.

tarjama: biographical notes about a reporter of Hadith.

Umma : nation, people; esp. the Muslim nation.

- E. The words ḥadīth, isnād and shaikh are used with their Arabic plurals, i.e. aḥadīth, asānīd and shuyūkh respectively.

- F. The Arabic translation of *The Atlas of Islamic History* (compiled by Harry W. Hazard) is consulted for the conversion of Islamic dates (AH - After Hijra) to AD dates.

- G. Where an isnād is given, the following convention is observed:

--- A single line stands for 'an, i.e. the first reporter reported from the second one but it is not certain whether or not he heard the text personally, e.g. 'Nu'aim --- Ibn Wahb' means that Nu'aim says, "on the authority of Ibn Wahb."

=== A double line stands for *ḥaddathanā* or *akhbaranā*, i.e. the first reporter acknowledges having heard it from his immediate authority, e.g. 'Nu'aim === Ibn Wahb' means that Nu'aim says, "Ibn Wahb informed/narrated to us."

# CONTENTS

	Page
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
A. Preamble	2
B. Two Early Traditionists who transmitted ahadith on the Mahdi	5
C. The Difference between the Sunnis & the Shi'ites regarding the Mahdi	8
D. Claimants to the Title of <i>Al-Mahdī</i>	13
E. Those believed by others to be the Mahdi	31
Appendix One: A list of early traditionists who transmitted the aḥādīth about the Mahdi with their own asānīd	36
Appendix Two: Later traditionists and scholars who wrote in support of the idea of the Mahdi	38
Appendix Three: A list of Muslim scholars who rejected the concept of the Mahdi	42
 <b>PART ONE: TRANSLATION OF AḤĀDĪTH ON <i>FITAN</i></b>	 <b>43</b>
Chapter One: Aḥādīth of 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211)	44
Chapter Two: Aḥādīth of Nu'aim b. Hammād (d. 228)	47
Chapter Three: Aḥādīth of Later Traditionists	70
Chapter Four: Picture of the Mahdi from Aḥādīth collected by the end of the third century	73
 <b>PART TWO: ANALYSIS OF THE AḤĀDĪTH ON <i>FITAN</i></b>	 <b>78</b>
Abbreviations used in Part Two	79
Chapter One: Rules Governing the Criticism of Ḥadīth	81
Introduction	81
The Classification of Ḥadīth	84
Further Branches of <i>Mustalah</i> and <i>Rijāl al-Ḥadīth</i>	104
Chapter Two: Analysis of the Aḥādīth of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī	110
Chapter Three: Analysis of the Aḥādīth of Nu'aim b. Hammād	120
<i>Tarjama</i> of Nu'aim b. Hammād	121
Ḥadīth nos. 1-20	132
Ḥadīth nos. 21-40	142
Ḥadīth nos. 41-60	151
Ḥadīth nos. 61-80	159
Ḥadīth nos. 81-100	167
Ḥadīth nos. 101-122	175
Chapter Four: Analysis of the Aḥādīth of Later Traditionists	184
Chapter Five: An Historical Approach to the Aḥādīth concerning the Mahdi	194
D.S. Margoliouth, 'On Mahdis and Mahdism'	194
Wilfred Madelung, 'Mahdi'	202
Wilfred Madelung on the Ḥadīth of Umm Salama	213
 <b>CONCLUSION</b>	 <b>220</b>
Numerical Summary of the Aḥādīth analysed	221
Description of the Mahdi from the authentic aḥādīth	221
Discussion of the inauthentic aḥādīth	222
 Bibliography	 228
 <b>PART THREE: THE ARABIC TEXTS</b>	 <b>240</b>

# INTRODUCTION



## SECTION A

### PREAMBLE

On Thursday, 1st Muharram 1400 AH / 20th November 1979, world news bulletins carried an alarming report from Makka, the holiest place of Islam. This episode has been reported by the Encyclopedia Britannica in its 1980 Book of the Year as follows:

**“NOVEMBER 20 *Grand Mosque in Mecca attacked by Muslim extremists.***

Several hundred armed Muslim extremists, some apparently from Arab nations outside Saudi Arabia, seized control of the Grand Mosque in Mecca while thousands were worshipping inside the huge compound. Because the terrorists barricaded themselves inside Islam's most sacred Shrine, Saudi military units were delayed in their counterattack until religious authorities had ruled that such action was justified. It took almost two weeks of bloody fighting to subdue the last invaders holed up in the lower levels of the Mosque. More than 150 persons were said to have died during the fighting. The leader, identified by some sources as Muhammad Abdullah al-Kahtani, reportedly claimed to be the promised Islamic messiah who had come to establish Allah's kingdom on Earth. To his followers, this meant an end to Western influences in Saudi Arabia and adherence to strict Islamic precepts.”<sup>1</sup>

What the writer of the above report failed to appreciate was that Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh al-Qaḥṭānī did not claim to be the promised Islamic "Messiah", but the awaited *Mahdi* who would fill the earth with justice after it had been filled with injustice and tyranny. Both Sunni and Shi‘a literature throng with extensive descriptions of this Mahdi, the concept of which has prompted a great number of people to claim this title throughout the fourteen centuries of Islam, in different parts of the Muslim lands. Nonetheless, in our contemporary times, this was the first claimant of this nature, and rekindled the debate on the authenticity of this belief. The scholars of Islam were divided on this issue: some rejected the idea completely by labelling all those aḥādith that speak of the Mahdi as spurious, while others supported this belief vehemently but rejected the last claimant on the grounds that he did not fulfil the criterion laid down in the texts for the true Mahdi. A detailed list of these scholars and traditionists appears in the following sections of this introduction.



The incident also moved the writer of these lines as well to seek the oldest Sunni source on the Mahdi. In his pursuit for an early collection of such aḥādith, he came across a book entitled *al-Malāḥim wa al-Fitan fī Zuhūr al-Ghā'ib al-Muntaẓar* by Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Tawūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī (d. 663 AH). The compiler of this collection gave the following three sources for his work:

- a) *Kitāb al-Fitan* by Nu'aim b. Ḥammād al-Khuzā'ī (d. 228),
- b) *Kitāb al-Fitan* by Abū Ṣālih al-Salīlī b. Ahmad b. 'Isā (manuscript dated 307), and
- c) *Kitāb al-Fitan* by Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Bazzāz (manuscript dated 391).

The reference to Nu'aim b. Ḥammād in this collection prompted the author to trace this collection, which was found as a well-preserved manuscript under no. OR 9449 in the Oriental Section of the British Library, London. It consists of nine parts covering 405 folios. A second copy of this manuscript, consisting of 135 folios, is kept at Atif Library (no. 602), Istanbul, Turkey. The following are prominent features of these two manuscripts:

i) The British manuscript is dated 607 AH by its scribe, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣairafī al-Anṣarī, who completed copying this work at Mount Qasyun, Damascus. The date of the Turkish manuscript is given as 11 Rabi' al-Awwal, 687 AH.

ii) There are four reporters in the British manuscript between the scribe and Nu'aim b. Ḥammād, whereas in the Turkish manuscript, there are five.

iii) In the British manuscript, the whole isnād from Nu'aim b. Ḥammād to his original source is given, while the early part of the isnād is omitted in the Turkish manuscript. For example, the isnād of Ḥadith 62 (Chapter 2, Part I & Chapter 3, Part II of this work) is given as follows in the British manuscript:

Nu'aim === Abū 'Umar --- Ibn Liḥya'a --- 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ḥusain --- Muḥammad b. Thābit --- his father --- al-Ḥārith --- 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd.

However, in the Turkish manuscript, it appears as follows:

Nu'aim === Abū 'Umar, who refers back to 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd.

iv) The texts of each ḥadīth in the two manuscripts are identical. This study is based mostly on the British manuscript due to its clarity; the photocopy of the Turkish manuscript obtained from Istanbul was less legible.

At al-Zahiriyya Library, Damascus, Syria, a third version of *Kitāb al-Fitan*, a composition of selected aḥādīth by Sharaf al-Dīn Naṣrullāh b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Shuqayyir al-Taṣnūkhī (d. 683 AH), consisting of 124 folios, is also preserved under no. 62, *Adāb*.

*Kitāb al-Fitan* of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād is valuable because of all the sources, it contains the largest number of aḥādīth and *āthār* on the issue of the Mahdī: it has around three hundred and fifty sayings about the life of the Mahdī or the events preceding his appearance, mostly spread in the third, fourth and fifth parts. Owing to a sizeable number of repeated aḥādīth in this collection, the author of this paper has selected one hundred and twenty-two of the aḥādīth for this study, which aims at distinguishing the authentic traditions from the unreliable ones.



## SECTION B

### TWO EARLY TRADITIONISTS WHO TRANSMITTED THE AHĀDĪTH ON THE MAHDI WITH THEIR ISNĀDS AND WHOSE COLLECTIONS FORM THE BASIS OF THIS PAPER

The detailed *tarjama* (biography), with critical notes by the traditionists, of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, compiler of *al-Muṣannaf*, and Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād, the compiler of *Kitāb al-Fitan*, appears in Part Two. A brief introduction to each traditionist is given below.

#### 1. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām (d. 211)

Dhahabī (d. 748) says:

"‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām b. Nāfi‘, the Hāfiẓ (great preserver of Ḥadīth), Abū Bakr, from the tribe of Ḥimyar, to whom he belongs through *Walā* (i.e. a slave attributing himself to his master's tribe after being set free), al-Ṣan‘āni. He compiled many books."<sup>2</sup>

His famous collection of ḥadīth is known as *al-Muṣannaf*.

‘Abd al-Razzāq mostly depends upon his shaikh, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, who compiled *al-Jāmi‘*, which is totally absorbed by ‘Abd al-Razzāq in his collection. Of 21033 aḥādith in *al-Muṣannaf*, very few have a source other than Ma‘mar. ‘Abd al-Razzāq admitted having heard ten thousand aḥādith from Ma‘mar.<sup>3</sup>

‘Abd al-Razzāq transmitted thirteen aḥādith under the chapter heading ‘al-Mahdi’, and two under the chapter heading ‘al-Dajjāl’.

#### 2. Nu‘aim b. Hammād (d. 228)

Ibn Sa‘d says:

"Nu‘aim belongs to Marw, from the people of Khurāsān. He acquired many aḥādith in Iraq and Hijāz; then he came to Egypt where he stayed until he left it during the caliphate of Abū Ishāq

b. Hārūn. He was asked about the Qur'ān (i.e. whether the Qur'ān is created or not) but he refused to answer to their liking, so he was imprisoned at Samarra, where he stayed until his death in 228 AH."<sup>4</sup>

Muslima b. Qāsim says:

"He was truthful, but with many mistakes. He has many munkar aḥādīth which he was alone in reporting regarding the troubles (*malāḥim*). He had an abominable opinion about the Qur'ān: he used to believe that the Qur'ān was of two kinds, the one which is in the Preserved Tablet (*al-Lauh al-Mahfuz*) being the Word of Allāh, while the one which is in the hands of the people is created."

Al-Dāraqutnī says:

"He is an Imām in the Sunnah, but prone to a lot of speculation."

Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim says:

"He could be opposed in some of his aḥādīth."<sup>5</sup>



**Footnotes and References for Sections A-B**

---

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica: *Book of the Year 1980*, p. 46  
<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥajar: *Tadhkira al-Ḥuffāz*, 1:364  
<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, 1:190  
<sup>4</sup> Ibn Sa‘d: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, 7:519  
<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥajar: *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 10:458-463

## SECTION C

### **THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SUNNIS AND SHI'A REGARDING THE CONCEPT OF THE MAHDI**

This study concentrates primarily on the concept of the Mahdi among the Sunnis, based on the ahadith recorded by their sources. The study of the Shi'ite concept would enlarge the scope considerably for the distinction between the two viewpoints; instead, the points of agreement and difference are mentioned briefly as follows:

A) The points of agreement between the two are:

(i) that the Mahdi descends from the progeny of the Prophet, either through Ḥasan or Ḥusain;

(ii) that his name and his father's name are the same as those of the Prophet and his father respectively;

(iii) that he appears at the end of time; and

(iv) that he is the leader of the Muslims when 'Isā b. Maryam descends from the sky.

B) The distinctive features of the Mahdi among the Shi'ites which are exclusively confined to them are many and prominent; among them are the following:

(i) The Mahdi is Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, claimed to be born in 256 AH and held to be the twelfth Imām of the Shi'ites<sup>6</sup>. The names of these twelve Imāms are as follows, in chronological order<sup>7</sup>:

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Tālib al-Mustardī      | (d. 40 AH) |
| 2. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Zakī          | (d. 50)    |
| 3. Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī                | (d. 61)    |
| 4. Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain Zain al-'Ābidīn | (d. 95)    |
| 5. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir           | (d. 114)   |
| 6. Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq      | (d. 148)   |
| 7. Abū Ibrāhīm Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāzim            | (d. 183)   |
| 8. Abū l-Hasan 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ridā               | (d. 203)   |

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| 9. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jawād          | (d. 220) |
| 10. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī         | (d. 254) |
| 11. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī     | (d. 260) |
| 12. Abū Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī al-Mahdī | (b. 256) |

(ii) The alleged Mahdi went into hiding five years after his birth at the cave of Samarra (Iraq) in 261 AH. He had been in contact with his disciples through messages during his "lesser occultation" which lasted for seventy years.<sup>8</sup> Then he disappeared completely for an indefinite period which is known as the "greater occultation". The Shi'ites believe that he is still alive, as al-Khumainī confirms:

"More than a thousand years have passed since the greater occultation of our Imām Mahdi. Thousands more may pass before the circumstances demand the arrival of the awaited Imām."<sup>9</sup>

(iii) The Mahdi will appear, not known to anyone except Allāh. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muẓaffar says:

"The Imāmiyya believe that this reformer, the Mahdi, is a particular person known as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, who was born in 256 AH and is still alive in accordance with what is proved from the Prophet and his household about his coming, and in accordance with the mutawātir reports about his birth and occultation. It is not permissible that the Imāmate terminates at any time. Even if the Imām is hidden, he is to appear on the day promised by Allāh Almighty: a divine secret which no one knows except Allāh Almighty."<sup>10</sup>

(iv) According to the doctrine of *Raj'a* (Return), as Zanjānī defines it,

"A people from among the friends and supporters who died earlier will be resurrected at the appearance of al-Qā'im, the son of al-Ḥasan, to receive the reward of their support and rejoice at the establishment of his rule. Another group, his enemies, will also be resurrected; he will carry out his revenge, such that they receive a part of the punishment they deserve. They will be killed by his supporters (the Shi'ites) and be stamped with humiliation and disgrace at the sight of his supremacy."<sup>11</sup>

To be more specific, Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Majlisī says:



"Ibn Bābawaih reported in '*Ilal al-Shārā'i*' that Muḥammad al-Bāqir said: 'When the Mahdi appears he will bring 'Ā'isha to life and inflict upon her the punishment'."12

He also narrates:

"When the Mahdi appears, the grave of the Prophet will burst open. He will take Abū Bakr and 'Umar out of their graves, give them life and crucify them."13

(v) The Prophet and 'Alī will give pledge to him.

Al-Majlisī states:

"Al-Nu'mānī reports from Muḥammad al-Bāqir that he said, 'When the Imām Mahdi appears, the first one to give pledge to him, will be Muḥammad, peace be upon him, then 'Alī, peace be upon him, and Allāh will aid him with angels'."14

(vi) The day the Mahdi was born is the greatest 'Īd (festival) for the whole of mankind.

Al-Khumainī says:

"His birthday - may our souls be ransom to him - is one of the biggest 'Īds of the Muslims and of the human beings as well, because he will fill the earth with justice."15

(vii) He will stand for justice and will achieve what the prophets and saints failed to achieve.

Al-Khumainī states:

"The Imām Mahdi - peace be upon him - will strive to establish justice throughout the world. He will succeed in achieving what the prophets and saints failed to achieve because of the obstacles in their way. The reason why Allāh Almighty prolonged his age is that there had been no one among mankind, including the prophets, saints and the grandfathers of the Mahdi, who could fulfil this great task. Had the Imām Mahdi met his Lord, there would have been no one among mankind to establish the principles of justice or to implement them in the world."16



(viii) The Mahdi, also known as al-Qā'im, will bring forth the genuine copy of the Qur'ān as reported by 'Alī. Al-Kulainī reports with his isnād to Sulaim b. Salama, who said:

“A man read to Abū 'Abdullāh - peace be upon him - some letters of the Qur'ān different to those that people used to read while I was listening. Abu 'Abdullāh said: 'Stop reading like this and read as the people read until al-Qā'im - peace be upon him - appears. When al-Qā'im appears, he will read the Book of Allāh, the Exalted and Glorified, according to its limits and will bring forth the Muṣḥaf which 'Alī - peace be upon him - wrote'.”<sup>17</sup>

This, in short, is the concept of the Mahdi according to Shi'ite sources.

As for the distinctive characteristics of the Mahdi according to the Sunnis, this study will aim to pinpoint them by differentiating the authentic aḥādīth from those proved to be weak or fabricated.

## Footnotes and References for Section C

<sup>6</sup> Zirkilī: *al-I'lām*, 8:353; Kaḥḥāla: *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, 13:97

<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad Ridā al-Muẓaffar: *'Aqā'id al-Imāmiyya*, p. 62f

<sup>8</sup> Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī: *Tuhfa Ithnā 'Ashariyya*, p. 48

<sup>9</sup> Al-Khumainī: *al-Hukumāt al-Islāmiyya*, p. 26

<sup>10</sup> Al-Muẓaffar, p. 65; see also about Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī as the Mahdi, al-Bustānī: *Dā'ira al-Ma'ārif*, 5:26

al-Ṭabṛasī: *I'lām al-Warā*, p. 427

al-Fārisī: *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*, p. 20

For occultation, see also:

al-Kulainī: *al-Kāfī*, *Kitāb al-Hujja*, p. 340

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'manī: *Kitāb al-Ghība*, p. 170

al-Ṭabṛasī: *I'lām al-Warā*, p. 445

<sup>11</sup> Zanjānī: *'Aqā'id al-Shī'a*, p. 229

To support the doctrine of *Raj'a*, the following verse of the Qur'ān is given a different rendering:

يَا مَّا نُرَبِّكَ بَعْضَ الَّذِي نَعِدُهُمْ أَوْ نَتَوَفِّيكَ فَأَلَيْنَا مَرْجِعَهُمْ ثُمَّ  
اللَّهُ شَهِيدٌ عَلَى مَا يَفْعَلُونَ (سورة يونس : آية ٤٦)

"Whether we show you part of what we have promised them, or we cause you to die, to us is their return, and then Allāh will be a witness upon what they have been doing."  
(Q., 10:46)

Al-Qimmī gave the following rendering with his exegesis:

وَأَمَّا نُرَبِّكَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ بَعْضَ الَّذِي نَعِدُهُمْ مِنَ الرَّجْعَةِ وَقِيَامِ الْقَائِمِ  
أَوْ نَتَوَفِّيكَ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ فَأَلَيْنَا مَرْجِعَهُمْ ثُمَّ اللَّهُ شَهِيدٌ عَلَى مَا يَفْعَلُونَ.

"Whether we show you, O Muhammad, part of what we have promised them of the *Raj'a* and the coming of *al-Qā'im* (i.e. the Mahdi) or we cause you to die before that, to us will be their return, and then Allāh will be a witness upon what they have been doing." (*Tafsīr al-Qimmī*, 1:312)

<sup>12</sup> Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī: *Hāqq al-Yaqīn*, p. 347

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, p. 360

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*, p. 347

<sup>15</sup> *Majalla al-Mujtama'* (Kuwait), issue dated 8/7/1980.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Kulainī: *al-Kāfī*, 4:452; see also al-Ṭabṛasī: *al-Ihtijāj* 1:224 and Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī: *al-Anwār al-Nu'māniya*, 2:360



## SECTION D

### CLAIMANTS TO THE TITLE OF AL-MAHDĪ

The study of the sources has enabled us to trace the following people who have claimed to be the Mahdi, beginning from the early Islamic period to present day. Brief accounts of their movements are presented in chronological order.

#### 1. Sālih b. Tarif al-Barghawātī (d. 174/789)

Sālih al-Barghawātī, believed to be of Jewish origin, was an emigrant from Andalus to Morocco, where in the town of Tamasta in 127/744, he declared himself to be the Mahdi as well as a prophet. He was able to establish his rule in Northern Africa, lasting for forty-seven years until 174 AH.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (d. 145/762)

Muḥammad, a descendant of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, was born in 93 AH at Madīna. Because of his piety, he was known by the title of *al-naḥs al-zakiyya* ("the purified soul").

The descendants of both Ḥasan and Ḥusain had claimed to have the sole right to the caliphate. However, in the Ḥusaini line, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, a contemporary of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh, preferred to engage himself in the pursuit of knowledge because of the dreadful fate which befell his grandfather Ḥusain.

Muḥammad was encouraged by his father to claim to be the Mahdi, but this was strongly denounced by Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, who advised Muḥammad's father not to continue in this path, but the latter rejected the advice, saying, "By Allāh, I hope that Allāh will bring forth a lot of good at his hand."<sup>2</sup>

Muḥammad began spreading his claim during the reign of Marwān al-Ḥimār, the last Umayyad caliph, but was not taken seriously. Even al-Saffāh, the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph, did no more than to admonish Muḥammad's father.

During the reign of al-Manṣūr, Muḥammad became an open critic of the caliph's rule. He once wrote to him,

"The right (of rule) belongs to us. You (i.e. the ‘Abbāsīds) have gained the support of our people and achieved rule because of us ... I



deserve it more than you."<sup>3</sup>

Because of the threat of retaliation from al-Manṣūr, Muḥammad used to hide from the people and write to them instead, asking them to support him. He was known generally as the promised Mahdi, while his father always stood by his side.<sup>4</sup> To combat this claim, al-Manṣūr gave his own son the title of the Mahdi, although he admitted to his courtiers that it had been a political move.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Manṣūr appointed Ziyād b. ‘Abdullāh as the Amīr of Madīna in a vain attempt to capture the claimant. When the latter failed, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh was appointed for this purpose. When this also failed, the caliph brought a ruthless Amīr known as Riyāḥ b. ‘Uthmān al-Miṣrī, who imprisoned Muḥammad's father, uncle and a number of cousins. However, Muḥammad and his brother Ibrāhīm escaped arrest by being continually on the move. After performing Hajj in the year 145/762, al-Manṣūr took the prisoners with him to Kūfa, where ‘Abdullāh, the father of Muḥammad, his uncle Ibrāhīm and two of his cousins died in prison.

Eventually, Muḥammad revolted openly in Jumādah al-Ākhira, 145 AH, following a similar move by his brother Ibrāhīm in Baṣra.<sup>6</sup> He took control of Madīna, arresting Riyāḥ b. ‘Uthmān and setting the prisoners free, while the people of Madīna rushed to offer the oath of allegiance to him. His next move was to appoint his own governors in Makka and Yemen, although his appointees in Egypt, Syria and Khurasan were not accepted by the people.

Al-Manṣūr's reaction was to despatch a strong contingent of four thousand warriors under the leadership of ‘Īsā b. Mūsā to Madīna. The fighting began in Ramadān and Muḥammad participated gallantly in person, but was killed on the second day of the fighting. Thus his short rule came to an end after two months and seventeen days.<sup>7</sup> His brother Ibrāhīm met a similar fate in Kūfa after fighting ‘Īsā b. Mūsā.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. ‘Abdullāh b. Maimūn al-Ahwazī (d. after 200/815)

Maimūn was a free slave of Ja‘far Ṣādiq, the sixth Imām according to the Shi‘as. For several reasons, he was imprisoned by the governor of ‘Irāq, and while in prison, he planned to launch the Bāṭiniyya movement.<sup>9</sup> His son ‘Abdullāh, previously a follower of the Ismā‘ilī sect<sup>10</sup>, adopted his father's views and began preaching them, while claiming to be the Mahdi as well as a prophet. His followers were known as Qarāmiṭa or Muzdakiyya, and his movement flourished mainly in Khurasān, Tabristān, Kāshān and Qumm (Irān).<sup>11</sup>



#### 4. Ahmad b. Kayyāl al-Balkhī

Due to his prolific, scholarly writings in both Arabic and Persian, many people followed him when he claimed to be the Mahdi.<sup>12</sup>

#### 5. Hamdān b. Ash'ath al-Qirmitī (appeared around 270/883)

Hamdān, the son of a well-digger from Kūfa, was influenced by the teachings of the Bāṭiniyya. In 264/877 or 278/891, he proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi, and Ahmad the son of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya to be a prophet of Allāh.

Initially, he asked his followers to pray fifty times during each day and night, but later, at the instigation of his disciples, he changed this to only two prayers. Among his other changes to the Shari'ah were: fasting during Ramaḍān was reduced to just two days a year; wine was permitted; the obligation to have a bath after sexual intercourse was abolished; and Jerusalem was made the Qibla rather than the Ka'ba.

For a hundred and fifty years, his followers presided over a reign of plunder and devastation.<sup>13</sup>

#### 6. Yahyā b. Zakrawaih al-Qirmitī (d. 290/902)

Originally from Khuzistān, Yahyā b. Zakrawaih announced that he was the Mahdi in the year 289/901 in Kūfa. He further claimed that he was actually Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Since Muḥammad b. Ismā'il was not known to have had a son by the name of 'Abdullāh, this was not very plausible. However, he had a strong following for a limited amount of time, his followers managing to wreak havoc in a great part of Syria, including devastation of the Raṣafa mosque. His movement was shortlived, though in a fierce battle with the soldiers of the caliph, al-Muktafī Billāh, he was put to the sword by the end of the year.<sup>14</sup>

#### 7. Husain b. Zakrawaih (d. 291/903)

A claimant to the title of "the Mahdi" during the caliphate of al-Muktafī Billāh, his followers devastated land and murdered innocent people in Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Ba'labak. Eventually, the Caliph's forces defeated him in 291/903, and he was crucified by the governor of Baraqa.<sup>15</sup>

## 8. Abū Sa'īd al-Junābī al-Qirmiṭī (d. 301/913)

As a leader of the Shī'as of Qatīf (the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula), al-Junābī claimed to be the Mahdi in 286 AH, during the caliphate of Mu'taḍid Bīllah. A year later, he advanced with his followers towards Baṣra in order to challenge the government, being met at the outskirts of Baṣra by two thousand soldiers of the caliph, whom he routed; the captives were burnt alive on his orders.

Abū Sa'īd subscribed to a belief along the lines of the Bāṭiniyya, e.g., he did not believe in the questioning on the Day of Resurrection. Anyone found to be persuading others to pray or fast was to be condemned to death. In 301 AH, he was slain by his own slave al-Ṣaqlabī.<sup>16</sup>

## 9. 'Ubaidullāh al-Mahdi (d. 322/933)

'Ubaidullāh's father, Muḥammad Ḥabīb, introduced the belief about his son being the Mahdi in 270/883. His cult was an offshoot of the *Ismā'ilīs*, and allowed a man to marry up to eighteen women. The most influential man in his movement was a disciple known as Abū 'Abdullāh al-Yamānī who, during a Hajj trip to Makka, impressed the pilgrims of Kattāna greatly with his piety and selfless attitude. Back at Kattāna, he was able to convince them that the claim of 'Ubaidullāh al-Mahdi was legitimate, according to a forged legacy of Imāmate beginning with 'Alī, and reaching 'Ubaidullāh through a succession of sons from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: his son Ismā'īl, his son Muḥammad Maktūm, then Ja'far Muṣaddiq, Muḥammad Ḥabīb and finally, 'Ubaidullāh.

Abū 'Abdullāh established his rule in Naṣirun (al-Maghrib) and invited 'Ubaidullāh to join him from Ḥimṣ (Syria), but the latter was imprisoned by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Muktafi Billāh at Sajalmāsa. In the meantime, Abū 'Abdullāh continued to expand his rule until he had conquered the whole of al-Maghrib. He secured the release of 'Ubaidullāh and handed the rule over to him.

'Ubaidullāh attempted to conquer Egypt but failed. Later, one of his commanders, Jawhar al-Ṣiqillī, succeeded in this in 356/966 and founded the city of Cairo. The 'Ubaidese dynasty, lasted from 297/909 to 567/1171.<sup>17</sup>

## 10. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Tūmart al-Hasanī (d. 524/1129)

Muḥammad, a descendant of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, was born in Sūs (al-Maghrib) in



485/1092. Through his extensive reading, he came across the famous book of Ja'far among the Shī'a literature. In this book he discovered a prophecy about the Mahdi of al-Maghrib, a Fāṭimid by descent, whose place of appearance would be associated with the mystic word "TYNML", and who would have a close friendship with a person called 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Ibn Ṭūmart showed himself to be a very pious man who could not tolerate any evil in the society. In Talmasān, the capital of the Murābiṭūn, his movement against wrongdoing brought him into direct conflict with the caliph 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tashfīn, who was advised by his ministers to kill the former, but the caliph instead preferred to expel him from Talmasān.

During his subsequent wanderings, Ibn Ṭūmart came to the town of Tanimal, where he met the young 'Abd al-Mu'min. Here, in 514/1120, he declared that he was the Mahdi. After mustering enough support, and with 'Abd al-Mu'min as his commander, Ibn Taumart waged a series of battles against the Murābiṭūn. In 516/1122, he achieved victory at last, establishing his rule over al-Maghrib under the title of the *Muwahhhideen*.<sup>18</sup>

According to Ibn al-Qayyim, Ibn Ṭūmart was the most brutal Muslim ruler after Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. He died in 524 AH, to be succeeded by 'Abd al-Mu'min.<sup>19</sup>

#### 11. Maḥmūd Wāḥid Gīlānī (appeared in 600/1203)

In opposition to Arabs in general, Maḥmūd of Gīlān (Irān) declared himself to be the pride of non-Arabs when claiming to be the Mahdi in 600 AH. He believed in the reincarnation of the soul, and his followers, known as *Wāḥidīs*, gave reverence to the sun by facing it during some of their prayers. Shāh 'Abbās of the Safawids treated them with an iron fist policy and eventually executed Maḥmūd Wāḥid.<sup>20</sup>

#### 12. Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Mulātham (d. 740/1339)

Born in Cairo in 658/1259, Aḥmad benefited greatly from the famous scholar Taqī al-Dīn b. Daqīq al-'Id. Known to be a great ascetic, he claimed in 689 AH to have visited Heaven, where Allāh had instructed him to proclaim himself as the Mahdi. When the news of his claim spread, the ruler of Cairo imprisoned him, but later he repented and denied that he was the Mahdi prophesied by the Prophet Muḥammad. He died in 740/1339.<sup>21</sup>



### 13. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tarābulusī (appeared in 717/1317)

A staunch follower of the Nuṣairiyya, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz claimed to be the Mahdi in 717 AH and acquired a following of three thousand people. He abused the first two caliphs of Islam, Abu Bakr and ‘Umar, and declared that ‘Alī was God. Many Muslims were subjected to persecution and killing at his hand until he was put to the sword by the ruler of Tarābulus.<sup>22</sup>

### 14. Uwais Rūmī (appeared around 900/1500)

Mullā ‘Alī al-Qārī, in his book *Al-Mashrab al-Wardī fī Madhhab al-Mahdī* (written around 965/1557 in Makka), stated that an elderly shaikh known as Uwais declared himself to be the Mahdi while in a state of *Kashf*<sup>23</sup> during the times of Sultan Bāyazīd (886-918/1481-1512) in Turkey. The Sultan was impressed and stated his willingness to follow him, but Uwais himself recanted the claim, saying that he had been inspired by Satan.<sup>24</sup>

### 15. Sayyid Muḥammad Jaunpūri (847-910/1443-1504)

Jaunpūr, the birthplace of Sayyid Muḥammad, was governed by Amīr Ḥusain, ruler of the state of Dānāpūr. Sayyid Muḥammad moved to Dānāpūr at the request of the Amīr, and there he brought thousands of Hindūs into the fold of Islām through his preaching. Later, he inspired Amīr Ḥussain to wage a war against the neighbouring Hindu Raja, Dilip Roy. Amīr, with an army of thirty thousand soldiers, attacked an enemy double his force, but with the help of Allāh and the warriors of Sayyid, he was able to defeat the Raja and capture his seat of power. After this victory, while passing through the jungle of Dānāpūr, Sayyid Muḥammad claimed in 905/1499 to be the promised Mahdi.

His reputation led him to be invited to the state of Ahmedabad, where Sulṭān Aḥmad Nizām Shāh pledged allegiance to him. The Sulṭān's faith in him was strengthened when his own wife conceived after the prayers of Sayyid Mahdi.

In 901/1495, he travelled to Arabia, where he performed the Ḥajj and revived his claim of Mahdiyya beside the Ka‘ba. On his return to India, his claim resulted in a hostile environment, and he was expelled from several towns, forcing him to move to Sindh, but on facing continued harassment, he then went to Qandhar, a part of Khurasān. Here he had to face a number of debates with the scholars of Qandhar. Eventually, he fled to the town of Farah, where he breathed his last in 910/1504. Shāh Qāsim ‘Irāqī, a later ruler of Farah, erected a tomb on his grave in 980/1572. His followers are still found in Hyderabad, the state of Taunk and Jaipūr.<sup>25</sup>



#### 16. Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar (d. 1014 /1605)

Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor of India, ruled for fifty-one years. He started his life as a sincere devotee of Khwāja Salīm Chishtī of Fataḥ Pūr Sikrī. His court witnessed scholars such as ‘Abdullāh Sultānpūrī and ‘Abd al-Nabī, the Shaikh of Hadīth. But later, after 982/1574, when his court became influenced by Abū l-Faḍl and Faizī, along with their father Mubārak, his belief in Islamic teachings was substantially shaken. Mubārak himself was a follower of Muḥammad Jaunpūrī. At the end of the millenium, Mubārak and some other courtiers led Akbar to believe that he was the promised Mahdi who had to appear at the end of seven thousand years of the world. Ibn ‘Arabī was falsely quoted to have said that the *Ṣāḥib al-Zamān* (i.e. the Mahdi) would be a clean-shaven man with many wives; both of these attributes were found in Akbar.

Although Akbar is said to have agreed to the claim of Mahdiyya, he in fact deserted the Islamic *sharī‘a* completely. He minted new coins at the end of the millenium indicating that the *sharī‘a* had come to an end. Dominated by Hindu philosophy and way of life, he believed in reincarnation, gave reverence to the cow and the pig, allowed *Mut‘a* (temporary marriage) and scoffed at the Muslim way of prayer. Whether he died as a Muslim, Hindu or Christian is a question which cannot be answered satisfactorily.<sup>26</sup>

#### 17. Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Sajalmāsī (d. 1022/1613)

Aḥmad was born in Sajalmāsa (al-Maghrib) in 967. After receiving education in his own country, he travelled to Egypt for further learning. During his stay there, he compiled a book about the signs of the Mahdi, and later made his claim. Many inhabitants of his home town followed him.

Haj Mīr, the deputy of Sultān Zaidān of Marrakesh in Sajalmāsa, confronted him with four thousand soldiers, but was defeated by only four hundred men under Aḥmad, who took control of Sajalmāsa. His subsequent expeditions resulted in more victories, and he eventually overthrew Zaidān, taking control of Marrakesh. Three years later, Zaidān, with the support of Faqīh Yahyā b. ‘Abdullāh, attacked, and the ensuing fierce encounter resulted in Aḥmad being beheaded, while Zaidān was restored to power. The heads of Aḥmad and his followers were hung on the gates of Marrakesh for about twelve years.<sup>27</sup>

#### 18. Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh Jaunpūrī (d. before 1040/1630)



Sayyid Muhammad was an ascetic who claimed to have received the call "You are the Mahdi" during a trance. Being a pious man, he enjoyed a large following. During a later journey for Ḥajj, he was "told" in a similar trance that he was not the Mahdi; he told his disciples that he intended to relinquish his claim on the way back from Ḥajj, but he passed away before he could do so.

His followers in Kashmīr were known as the Nūrbakhshiyya. Most of their beliefs, which are contrary to the beliefs of the Ahl al-Sunnah, were invented by a later entrant into this sect: a certain Shams al-Dīn of 'Irāq, who was a very active preacher for the Nūrbakhshiyya sect.<sup>28</sup>

#### 19. Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Muhairathī (d. 1050/1640)

Aḥmad was born in Muhairath, a small village in Yemen. He was gifted with a good memory and intellectual capacity. He initially followed the Zaidī school of *fiqh* but later changed to the Ḥanafī school and remained a Qāḍī according to Ḥanafī law. He claimed to be the Mahdi and also the Beast mentioned in the Qur'ān<sup>29</sup>.

He died in Makkah.<sup>30</sup>

#### 20. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Azmakī (d. after 1070/1659)

Barzanjī, in his book *Al-Ishā'a bi Ashrāt al-Sā'a*, stated that in his childhood he saw Muḥammad Azmakī, who had claimed in Kurdistān that he was the Mahdi. Although many people followed him, his claim was rejected by the scholars and he was defeated militarily by the ruler Amīr Aḥmad Khān. According to the advice of the scholars, he repented and renewed his faith and marriage to his wife.<sup>31</sup>

#### 21. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Kurdī

In 1075/1664, a man known as 'Abdullāh proclaimed in Kurdistān that his twelve-year-old son named Muḥammad was the Mahdi, and began accepting the oath of allegiance to him; thousands of people flocked to his door for this purpose. During the same period, in Samarna, Turkey, a Spanish Jew named Sabata'i Sevi declared that he was the Promised Messiah: the simultaneous appearance of claimants to being the Messiah and the Mahdi convinced many that 'Abdullāh's claim was true.

'Abdullāh took control of Mūsīl and surrounding areas in a wave of religious zeal but he was strongly challenged by the Ottoman-appointed ruler of Mūsīl. Once



defeated, he was brought to the court of Muḥammad IV, Sulṭān of the Ottoman Empire, where he absolved himself of the claims he had made and promised not to propound the ideas further. Satisfied with this assurance, the Sulṭān pardoned him and set both father and son free.<sup>32</sup>

## 22. Mirzā ‘Alī Muḥammad Bāb (d. 1266/1850)

Mirzā ‘Alī was born in Shīrāz, Irān, in 1235/1819. As a prelude to the eventual claim of Mahdiyya, he initially declared in 1260 AH that he was the *Bāb* (gateway) to the expected *Ṣāhib al-Zamān* (master of the times). After bestowing this latter title on Mullah Ḥusain Bisharwai, he declared himself to be the Mahdi. Prominent figures such as Mullah Ṣādiq, Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Barfaroshi, Mullā ‘Alī Akbar and Mullah Muḥammad ‘Alī Zinjānī were among his followers.

In the face of a severe clampdown by Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Irān, Mirzā moved to Isfahān, whose ruler had such affection for him that he left his property to Mirzā in his will. Because of the growing challenge posed by his followers, the Shāh of Irān imprisoned Mirzā, first in the Mahko fort and later in Chahriq fort near Arvin. He was invited to a debate with a host of scholars in Tabrīz, where his ignorance of the *sharī‘ah* was thoroughly-exposed. Covered with shame, he had to return to prison; due to the continuing conflict and unrest involving the Bābīs in various provinces, however, the Shāh decided to eliminate Mirzā ‘Alī: he was shot dead on 28 Sha‘bān 1266/1850 in Tabrīz. The Bāb had declared himself *Dhikr* ذِكْر and *Dhāt Hurūf Sab‘a* (ذات حروف سبعة). Hence the word *dhikr* in the following verse of Sūrah al-Anbiyā’,

وَلَقَدْ كَتَبْنَا فِي الزَّبُورِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الذِّكْرِ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ الصَّالِحُونَ

"Before this we wrote in the Psalms after the *dhikr* (message given to Moses): My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth"<sup>33</sup>

was interpreted by Hājī Mirzā Jānī Bābī to mean that after the time of the Bāb, his followers would inherit the earth.<sup>34</sup>

## 23. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdi al-Sūdānī (d. 21 June 1303/1885)

Muḥammad Aḥmad was born in 1265/1848 in Hung, Sūdān, to parents named ‘Abdullāh and Āminah. His claim in 1881, just three months into the year 1300/1882 at the age of 33, that he was the Mahdi, was widely-accepted without much opposition. At the time, he had confined himself to the island of Abba in the River Nile.

Rauf Pasha, Sūdān's Egyptian governor, despatched a force of fifty soldiers to



arrest him, but they were easily defeated by Mahdi's devout soldiers and killed. In another encounter, Mahdi defeated a force of three hundred soldiers, after which he left for Kurdufān. In the following year, he defeated two more military forces sent by the Egyptian ruler to combat him.

In September 1882, Mahdi attacked Ubayyadd, the capital of Kurdufān, where he almost tasted his first defeat, but with the help of reinforcements, he was able to besiege the fort and force the enemy to surrender; this victory made him the undisputed ruler of Kurdufān. In 1883 and 1884, he repulsed further attacks by General Hicks and General Baker.

In 1884, General Gordon was appointed Governor of Sudan. He adopted the policy of appeasing the Mahdi by recognising him as the Sultan of Kurdufān, but Mahdi refused to pledge allegiance to Gordon, instead sending his forces to besiege Khartoum. Since all telegraphic links with Egypt had been cut, General Gordon sent an appeal for help via the Nile, but the ship carrying the British envoys capsized after hitting some rocks.

On 26 January 1885, as Lord Wellesley was on his way to Khartoum via the Nile, General Gordon was executed by the followers of Mahdi. The further defeat of a thirteen-thousand-strong British army, including battalions from India and Australia and led by General Gerald Graham, consolidated the rule of Mahdi over the entire Sudan.

Mahdi died on 21 June 1885 at the young age of 37. During his short rule, he enforced Islamic teachings, prohibiting the use of intoxicants and smoking, and also dealt severely with adultery and immorality. His decree of suspension of the pilgrimage to Makka was one blot on his record in this regard.

In 1899, terrible retribution was exacted by Lord Kitchener, who defeated Mahdi's followers during the rule of 'Abdullāh, Mahdi's successor. As well as massacring Mahdi's followers, Lord Kitchener bombed his tomb and desecrated his corpse by severing its head and disposing of its bones in the River Nile.<sup>35</sup>

#### 24. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad Qādiānī (d. 1326/1908)

Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad was born in 1839 or 1840. He made numerous claims, ranging from being a *mujaddid* (renewer of the faith) to being a prophet. He not only called himself the "Promised Messiah", but at the same time claimed likeness in personality and deeds with most of the Prophets and Messengers of Allah. His claims to the following titles were very prominent: (a) Mujaddid; (b) Mahdi; (c) Promised Messiah; (d) Prophet and Messenger.

We shall examine below the above four claims in their chronological order



and proper perspective.

a) *Mujaddid* (renewer of the faith). During the publication of his *Braheen-e-Ahmadiyya* (1880), the Mirzā emerged as a defender of Islam. He claimed to being a recipient of revelation, and in the year 1885 declared himself as a *mujaddid*, not unusually, as previously some venerable persons had also put forward such a claim. For example, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505), not only compiled a list of former *mujaddidun*, but also considered himself a *mujaddid* of the ninth century.

The concept of *tajdid* rests on the following tradition of the Prophet (SAS), as reported by Abū Hurairah and transmitted by Abū Dāwūd in his collection of *aḥādīth*. The Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said,

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُبْعَثُ لِحِزِّهِ الْأُمَّةِ عَلَى رَأْسِ كُلِّ مِائَةٍ سَنَةٍ مَنْ يُجَدِّدُ لَهَا دِينَهَا

"Undoubtedly, Allah sends at the head of each century one who renews the religion for the entire Ummah."36

b) *Mahdi*. Mirzā proclaimed himself as both the Promised Messiah and the Mahdi in 1891, and advertised in order to recruit disciples. It is quite interesting to note that Mirzā on one hand rejected the authenticity of traditions about the coming of the Mahdi, but on the other hand insisted that he was the Mahdi on the basis of the said *aḥādīth*. Mirzā wrote:

"As far as the validity of traditions in connection with the advent of the Mahdi are concerned, you should know that they are all weak and unreliable, so much so that in some books, even in Ibn Mājah, one comes across this tradition that there is no Mahdi except Jesus, Son of Mary (AS). Therefore, how can one have confidence in such weak, unreliable traditions? Even the authenticity of those persons through whom these traditions passed is doubtful, and this fact is not hidden from compilers and teachers of traditions."37

c) *Promised Messiah*. Mirzā put forward the following "revelation from God" to prove that he was the Promised Messiah:

"We have made you Messiah Son of Mary. We shall protect you, while the people will not protect you."38

Mirzā had clearly confirmed that he believed in all the traditions which refer to the descent of the Messiah again to this world. In the writing "*Malfūzāt*" of Mirzā (1st part, 1891-1899) a question by someone from Barailly and Mirzā's answer is recorded:

"Question:- 'Are you the same Messiah about whom the Messenger of



God (SAW) has given information in traditions? Answer this after taking an oath by God.'

*Answer:-* 'Previously I have confirmed this too in detail on oath in my books, and now again I write on oath to God, in whose possession is my life, that I am the same Promised Messiah about whom the Messenger of God (SAW) has given information in traditions which are given in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, and other books. *Wa kafā billāhi shahīdān* (Allah is enough as a Witness).' Writer: Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad Qādiānī, 17th August 1899."<sup>39</sup>

d) *Prophet and Messenger*. In 1901, Mirzā took the enormous step of declaring himself to be a Prophet and Messenger of God. The following written statements of Mirzā should be noted in this connection:

(i) "About myself, I say that God has addressed me as Messenger and Prophet."<sup>40</sup>

(ii) "The true God is the one that has sent His Messenger in Qadiān."<sup>41</sup>

(iii) "For the present nation (ummah), I have been chosen and named Nabi (Prophet), and no-one else deserves this distinction."<sup>42</sup>

About two and a half months before his death, he made the following announcement in a journal, leaving no ambiguity about his claim to Prophethood:

(iv) "I proclaim that I am a Messenger and Prophet."<sup>43</sup>

Mirzā's claim to Prophethood was strongly opposed by the vast majority of the Muslim community in India. A number of debates and dialogues were held during the last years of his life. As this issue is not related to the subject of this study, no further discussion is needed here.

Mirzā died on 26 May 1908 in Lahore and was buried in Qadiān.

## 25. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Ḥasan al-Sūmalī (d. 1921/1340)

Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Ḥasan was born in 1373/1856 at Kub Fardut in Somalia. After receiving a sound education in *sharī'a* in Mogadishu, he visited Makka in 1881, where he learnt about the Mahdi of Sudan from his shaikh, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.



The onslaught of Christian missionaries in his country led him to declare *Jihād* in 1897 to defend Islām. In his treatise, *Mabāḥith al-Munāfiqīn* (Dialogue with the Hypocrites), he has thrown ample light on his political thought, which was basically inspired by the spirit of *Jihād* against the colonising Italian and British imperialists. Although a claim to being the Mahdi is not so obvious in his movement, his dialogue with his opponents shows the likelihood of such a claim. For example, when he invited them to *Jihād*, he received the following reply,

"*Jihād* is not yet due; we shall carry out *Jihād* when its time comes, once the awaited Mahdi appears. Then, our sticks will turn into rifles and guns and the infidels' weapons will be ours."<sup>44</sup>

Mullah Muḥammad Ḥasan was not discouraged by this opposition, but started a campaign of preparing volunteers for *Jihād*. Away from Barbara, the headquarters of the British forces, he managed to build up four forts, well-equipped with weapons and ammunition. The British commander, General Kufal, responded to Muhammad's growing support by threatening him with dire consequences if he did not halt his movement, to which Muhammad replied in defiant vein. This led to a number of encounters between the two camps, Muḥammad emerging triumphant and establishing his position after the battles of Talih, Jajajja and Karahdum. The British commander tempted him with several offers in return for his surrender, but he continually refused.

After ten years of constant struggle, facing the British powers as well as internal hostile elements, he breathed his last in 1921 in Ogaden.<sup>45</sup>

## 26. Yaḥyā 'Ainullāh Bihāri (d. after 1349/1930)

Yaḥyā was a resident of Bhadara, District Giya, Bihar State, India. In his early years, he emerged as an eloquent Urdu poet and writer. Later, he claimed to be the Mahdi and Promised Messiah. In some of his writings, he claimed to be God Himself, and chose for himself the title of 'Ainullāh ("Allāh Himself"). He wrote a voluminous book of 824 pages entitled "*Farmān*", which he regarded as divine revelation to him, and similar to the Qur'ān. In this book, he introduced himself as

"His Excellency, the One, the Ruler, Syed Muḥammad Yaḥyā Khān Dauran, Allāh's deputy in the worlds, the landlord of the village, Yaḥyā, Tahsil Pargana, District Giya, State of Bihar."<sup>46</sup>

His book contained commandments and punishments for immoral acts and disobedience. His leaning towards Christian teachings and distrust of Islāmic ethics are obvious from his writings. Most of his followers were from the



Hindu community.

An interesting incident is reported about him:

"Yaḥyā used to visit a wealthy Hindu merchant in Jahem Abad, Giya, and stay at his place from time to time. Once a child died in the locality. Being the only child in the family, the mother's grief was immense. She was advised by people to beseech God to bring her son back to life, as she was fortunate to have 'God' present in the Hindu merchant's villa. Hence she pleaded with Yaḥyā to resurrect her son. In vain, Yaḥyā tried to send her away, but she continued pleading, while thousands of illiterate villagers waited to see God in action. At last, Yaḥyā persuaded her to leave with the corpse and return the following morning, when he would raise her son alive. Yaḥyā Bihārī escaped that night, never to be seen again in the area."

With a sparse following, his cult seems to be doomed to extinction, and very little else is known about his movement.<sup>47</sup>

#### 27. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Qaḥṭānī (d. 1400/1979)

The end of the thirteenth century AH witnessed a bloody incident at the sacred Ka'ba in Makka, when members of a movement led by the ex-soldier Juhaimān, of the tribe of 'Utaiba, attempted to seize control of Islam's most sacred shrine. Juhaimān's movement included Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Qaḥṭānī, a student of *sharī'a* at the Umm al-Qurā University in Makka, and known to be a devout Muslim. The latter was led by Juhaimān and his followers to believe that he was the Mahdi, whom Muslim masses throughout the world had eagerly awaited. They based this idea on dreams seen by one member, which suggested that al-Qaḥṭānī was the Mahdi<sup>48</sup>, and the fact that his and his father's names coincided with those of the Prophet and his father added weight to their conviction that the Mahdi was among them.

On 1 Muḥarram 1400 AH (1979 CE), a group of more than three hundred of Juhaiman's men, well-equipped with arms, ammunition and supplies of food and water in anticipation of a siege, gathered inside the Grand Mosque in Makka. Just after the Fajr prayer, one of them seized the microphone and announced to the worshippers, "Allāh is the Greatest. The Mahdi has come." Short speeches followed near the Ka'ba, and the men thronged to pledge their oaths of allegiance to al-Qaḥṭānī as he stood between the Pillar and the Station of Ibrāhīm. As this went on, the armed men closed the gates of the Mosque, shooting at anyone who tried to resist this action, while thousands of terrified worshippers attempted to make their escape (one eyewitness told the author how, after being stranded for six hours, he escaped through one of the gaps in the decorative grille above the windows of the Ṣafā-Marwa extension, reaching



that height by standing on the shoulders of others, breaking his ankle as he jumped to safety outside).

As the Saudi army and police moved in to take their positions around the Mosque, several soldiers were shot dead by Juhaimān's marksmen, installed in the Mosque's lofty minarets. The Grand Mosque remained closed, besieged by the Saudi forces, for fourteen days. Eventually, the army forced their way into the Mosque, which became the scene of heavy fighting. Al-Qahtānī was an early victim, and his death meant that Juhaimān's revolt was effectively doomed. Juhaimān and about two hundred and fifty of his men were captured and later beheaded in different locations in Saudi Arabia. The King of Saudi Arabia had previously obtained *fatwās* (Islamic rulings) on the issue, especially regarding desecration of the Holy Places during a sacred month, from prominent scholars such as Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdullāh b. Bāz and the Imams of the Two Holy Mosques of Makka and Madina.<sup>49</sup>

## FOOTNOTES & REFERENCES FOR SECTION D

1. Abū l'Qāsim Rafīq: *A'imma Talbīs*, p. 103ff.

2. Tabarī: *Tārīkh*, 7:29.

3. *ibid*, 7:567.

4. Fakhrī: *Tārīkh al-Umam wa l'Mulūk*, p. 166.

5. Isfahānī: *Maqānil al-Talibīn*, p. 247.

6. Tabarī, 7:554.

7. *ibid*, 7:209.

8. *ibid*, 7:648.

9. **Bāṭiniyya**: This movement was established by Maimūn b. Diṣān al-Qaddāḥ of Ahwaz. The Bāṭiniyya believed that every Qur'anic letter has a *baṭinī* (hidden inner) meaning as well as the *zāhirī* (obvious outward) meaning, and that the former is the real essence of the Qur'ān. Through these "hidden" meanings, they redefined many Islamic teachings. A few examples of their manipulation of Qur'anic terms are as follows, as recorded by Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Dhahabī in *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 2:241f:

**Angels**: the spokesmen of the Bāṭiniyya;

**Jibrā'īl**: Muḥammad's wisdom;

**Shaitān**: anyone who acts only on the *zāhirī* meanings of the Qur'an;

**Jinn**: uncivilised people;

**Al-Qiyāma (Resurrection)**: to return to one's origin;

**Al-Janna' (the Garden)**: physical comfort;

**Al-Jahannam (the Fire)**: physical pain;

**Ka'ba**: Muḥammad

**Bāb (door)**: `Alī;

**Ṭawāf**: the houses of the infallible Imāms;

**Yā'jūj and Mā'jūj (Gog and Magog)**: the scholars of the *zāhirī* meanings;

**Adhān (the call to prayer)**: inviting others to follow the Imām;

**Ṣalāh (Prayer)**: to follow the Imām;

**Ḥajj (Pilgrimage)**: to visit the Imām;

**Ṣawm (Fasting)**: refraining from disclosing the secret of the Imām;

**Zakāt (Almsgiving)**: purification of the heart.

10. **Ismā'iliyya**: Ja'far al-Sādiq, the sixth Imām of the Shi'aṣ, had two sons: Mūsā Kāzim, regarded as the seventh Imam by the mainstream Shi'aṣ, and his elder brother, Ismā'īl, who died during his father's lifetime. A group of the Shi'aṣ believed in the Imamate of Muḥammad the son of Ismā'īl, rather than his uncle, Mūsā Kāzim. This sect was known as the *Ismā'iliyya*, and they believed that the Imamate always continues, uninterrupted, from the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Sādiq. According to this belief, 'Alī Khan, grandson of the famous present-day Aga Khan, is the present Imām.



11. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 118.  
     ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī: *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, p. 277.
12. Al-Shihristānī: *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 2:17-21.
13. Ibn al-Athīr: *Al-Tārīkh*, 7:148-9.
14. *ibid*, 7:168.
15. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 164.
16. *ibid*, p. 157;  
     Ibn al-Jauzī: *Talbīs Iblīs*, p. 102;  
     Ibn Khaldūn: *Al-Tārīkh*, 3:35;  
     Ibn al-Athīr, 8:27.
17. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 166;  
     Al-Baghdādī, p. 288;  
     Ibn al-Athīr, 8:90;  
     Al-Suyūṭī: *Tārīkh al-Khulafā*, p. 7f.
18. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 261.
19. *Al-Bayān* magazine (London), Issue no. 18.
20. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 286.
21. *ibid*, p. 290f;  
     Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 1:62f.
22. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 292.
23. In Sufī terminology, Kashf is a state of spirituality in which an ascetic comes to know about hidden matters.
24. *ibid*, p. 292.
25. *ibid*, pp. 296-318. See also Balkhī, Syed Ḥusain: *The Mahdī Mau‘ud*.
26. *ibid*, pp. 319-353;  
     See also ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Badāyūnī: *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*.
27. *ibid*, pp. 362-364;  
     M. Bashīr Zāfir: *Al-Yawāqīt al-Thamīna . fi A`yān Alām al-Madīna*, 1:2.
28. A. *Raḥṭq*, p. 353.
29. Qur‘ān, 27:82.
30. *ibid*, p. 364.
31. *ibid*, p. 365.
32. Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Ḥusainī al-Barzanjī: *Al-Ishā‘a li Ashrāṭ al-Sā‘a*, pp. 121-2.

33. Qur'ān, 21:105.
  34. A. Raftq, pp. 379-404.  
Hājī Mirzā Janī Bābī: *Nuqtat al-Qāf*.  
*The Episode of the Bab*, Cambridge, pp. 323-334, cf. A. Raftq.
  35. A. Raftq, pp. 433-454.  
Sir George Arthur: *The Life of Lord Kitchener*, London, p. 259f.
  36. *Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, 6:163, hadīth no. 4123.
  37. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad: "Hamāmat al-Bushrā", printed under *Rūhānī Khazā'in*, 7:314.
  38. *Rūhānī Khazā'in*, 5:551.
  39. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad: *Malfūzāt*.
  40. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad: *Aik Ghalī kā Izāla*, p. 10.
  41. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad: *Dāfi` al-Balā*, p. 19.
  42. Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad: *Ḥaqīqat al-Wahī*, p. 391.
  43. *Badr* journal, 5th March 1908.
  44. Dr. `Abd al-Ṣabūr Marzūq: *Mahdī al-Somāl*, p. 10.
  45. *ibid*.
  46. Yaḥyā Bihārī: *Kitāb Farmān*, pp. 405-411.
  47. A. Raftq, p. 521.
  48. A number of Muslim scholars, including Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī, held that if a person sees the Prophet in a dream, and the Prophet commands or forbids something in this dream, the person must obey the order. (Ibn Badrān: *Madkhal*, p. 139)
- Others hold an opposing view. For example, al-Shawkānī says, "The sharī'a has been completed by Allāh Almighty, for he said, 'This day have I perfected for you your religion ...' The Muslim Umma is thus in no need of any subsequent addition, for the mission to convey the shari'a has been terminated by the death of the Prophet (SAS). Because of this, we know that even if the person who sees the dream is accurate in his recollection of it, no part of his vision, whether it is a saying or action of the Prophet, can be binding on him or on anyone else in the Umma .." (Al-Shawkānī: *Irshād al-Fuḥūl*, p. 249)
49. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl: *Mahdī Haqīqa lā Khurāfa*, pp. 92-3.



## SECTION E

### **THOSE BELIEVED BY OTHERS TO BE THE MAHDI**

A number of leading Muslim personalities throughout history were labelled as *Mahdi* by their staunch devotees, although they themselves never made such a claim. These personalities are listed below:

#### **1. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib (d. 40/660)**

The followers of ‘Abdullāh b. Sabā claimed that ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, the Prophet's son-in-law and his fourth successor, was a prophet himself; some of them exaggerated to the extent of saying that ‘Alī was God Himself - some of these extremists were reported to be burnt alive on the order of ‘Alī. Among them, some believed that ‘Alī was the Mahdi.<sup>1</sup>

#### **2. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60 AH)**

Mu‘āwiya succeeded Ḥasan b. ‘Alī as caliph after the latter's abdication in 40 AH. It is reported by Qatāda, Mujāhid and Abu Ishāq al-Subū‘ī that he was a Mahdi.<sup>2</sup>

#### **3. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d. 81/700)**

In addition to Ḥasan and Ḥusain, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib had a third son named Muḥammad whose mother was from the tribe of Banū Ḥanīfa. After the martyrdom of Ḥusain at Karbalā, Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, originally a Khārijī, became a supporter of ‘Alī and started a movement to avenge the blood of Ḥusain and his family. In order to consolidate his position, he claimed to be commissioned by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, whom he declared to be Mahdi.

Mukhtār fabricated a letter, claiming it to be from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, a staunch supporter of ‘Alī, which read,

"From Muḥammad al-Mahdi to Ibrāhīm b. Mālīk al-Ashtar,

Peace be upon you. I am sending to you my vizier and trustee, whom I have commissioned to fight my enemies and avenge the blood of my family. Join him, along with your tribe and followers. You will be blessed if you respond to this call."<sup>3</sup>

Although Ibrāhīm doubted the authenticity of this letter, Mukhtār and his followers swore by Allāh that the letter was written by Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya.

With the help of the Shī'a in general, Mukhtār was able to defeat 'Ubaidullāh b. Ziyād, governor of Kūfa, and rule over vast Muslim lands, excluding the Ḥijāz and Baṣra, which were under the control of 'Abdullāh b. Zubair.

Mukhtār was eventually killed by Muṣ'ab b. Zubair in 67 AH. His followers, known as the *Kaisaniyya*, used to believe that Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya was not dead, but that he was alive in the mount of Raḍwa, with two springs of water and honey flowing nearby, guarded by a lion and a tiger, and that he would remain there until he was instructed by God to emerge.<sup>4</sup>

However, Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya never endorsed Mukhtār's claim, as is well-evident from his letters to the Shī'as of Kūfa.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib al-Bāqir (d. 114/732)

The followers of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Bāqir claimed that 'Alī had announced the Imāmate of his son Ḥasan after him, the latter had in turn declared his brother Ḥusain to be the next Imām, and in this way the Imāmate had passed to 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn, son of Ḥusain, and then to his son, Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

This claim was based on a narration by Jābir b. 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī, who said that the Prophet Muḥammad said to him, "You are going to meet him, so convey my greeting of peace to him." Jābir was the last of the Companions to pass away in Madīna; he is reported to have met Muḥammad al-Bāqir and to have conveyed the greeting of the Prophet to him.<sup>6</sup>

#### 5. Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 148/765)

Like the preceding group, another faction of the Shī'as believed that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had been declared to be the Imām by his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and that he was the awaited Mahdi. According to them, he did not die and would reappear near the end of the world.<sup>7</sup>



## 6. Muḥammad al-Mahdi (d. 169/785)

Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, the second ‘Abbāsīd caliph, named his son al-Mahdi in the face of mounting support among the Shī‘as for the concept of an awaited Mahdi, and especially worried by the movement of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, a claimant to Mahdiyya during the reign of al-Manṣūr. Muḥammad al-Mahdi succeeded his father in 158 AH and died after ruling for eleven years.<sup>8</sup>

## 7. Mūsā b. Ja‘far (d. 183/799)

Some of the Shī‘as believed in the Imāmate of Mūsā after his father Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, and claimed that he had not died, but had entered the palace of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd without re-emerging; hence, he was the awaited Mahdi.<sup>9</sup>

## 8. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-‘Askarī (born 256/869)

The mainstream Shī‘as believe that their eleventh Imām, Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, who died in 260 AH, was not the last one in the line of the house of ‘Alī, but that one of his slave-girls had given birth to a son named Muḥammad, who had lived for four years before disappearing in a cave in Samarra (‘Irāq) in 261 AH. To them, he is the long-awaited Mahdi, and will appear near the time of the end of the world. Unlike the previous three sects, this group among the Shī‘as, known as the *Ithna ‘Ashariyya* or *Qaṭ‘iyya*, comprises the majority of the present-day Shī‘a population.<sup>10</sup>

## 9. Sayyid Ahmad Brailwi (d. 1246/1838)

Nawāb Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān says that some people interpreted the well-known hadith, "To you will come black flags from Khurāsān. Join them, even if you have to drag yourself across snow, because he will be Khalifat-ullāh al-Mahdī"<sup>11</sup> to apply to the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Brailwi, who fought against the Sikhs in Punjab (present-day Pakistan) and was martyred at Balakot in 1246 AH.<sup>12</sup>

10. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī (d. 1276/1859)

Rashīd Riḍā, the famous Egyptian scholar, mentioned that Muḥammad al-Sanūsī of Libya, founder of the Sanūsī Islamic state, was believed by some people to be the Mahdi.<sup>13</sup>



## FOOTNOTES & REFERENCES FOR SECTION E

1. Al-Baghdādī, p. 234.
2. Ibn Taimiyya: *Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya*, 3:185.
3. Al-Baghdādī, p. 38.
4. Al-Baghdādī, p. 39.
5. Ṭabarī, 7:153.
6. Al-Baghdādī, p. 60.
7. *ibid*, p. 61.
8. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl, *Mahdī Haqiqa Lā Khurāfa*, p. 89.
9. Al-Baghdādī, p. 63.
10. *ibid*, p. 64.
11. cf. Ḥadīth nos. 33, 34 in Chapter Two, Part One of this study.
12. Nawab M. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan: *Al-Idhā‘a li mā kāna wa mā yakūnu baina yadayi al-sā‘a*, p. 123.  
Shams al-Ḥaq ‘Azīmābādī: *‘Awn al-Ma‘būd*, 11:368.
13. Rashīd Riḍā: *Tafsīr al-Manār*, 9:501.

## APPENDIX ONE

### A list of early traditionists who transmitted ahādith about the Mahdi with their own āsānīd

1. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī (d. 228 AH) in *al-Musnad*.
2. Muḥammad b. Sa'd (d. 230) in *al-Ṭabaqāt*.
3. Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba (d. 235) in *al-Muṣannaf*.
4. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241) in *al-Musnad*.
5. 'Umar b. Shabba al-Namīrī (d. 263) in *Tārīkh al-Baṣra*.
6. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Māja al-Qazwīnī (d. 273) in *al-Sunan*.
7. Abū Dāwūd Sulaimān b. Ash'ath al-Sijistānī (d. 275) in *al-Sunan*.
8. Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Sulaimī al-Tirmidhī (d. 279) in *al-Sunan*.
9. Abu Bakr b. Abī Khaithama (d. 279) in *al-Tārīkh*.
10. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (d. 282) in *al-Musnad*.
11. Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. Bashīr al-Ḥarbī (d. 285) in *al-Ḥarbiyyāt*.
12. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Bazzār (d. 292) in *al-Musnad*.
13. Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Bāwardī (d. 301) in *Ma'rifat al-Ṣahāba*.
14. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu'aib b. 'Alī b. Sinān al-Nasā'ī (d. 303) in *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*.
15. Abū l-'Abbās al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān al-Nasā'ī al-Baluzī (d. 303) in *al-Musnad*.
16. Abū Ya'lā Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Mūṣilī (d. 307) in *al-Musnad*.
17. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rūyānī (d. 307) in *al-Musnad*.
18. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī (d. 310) in *Tahdhīb al-Athar*.
19. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzaima al-Naisābūrī (d. 311) in *al-Ṣaḥīh*.
20. Abū 'Awānā Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 316) in *al-Mustakhraj*.
21. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Mūsā b. Ḥammād al-'Uqailī (d. 322) in *Kitāb al-Du'afā*.
22. Abū l-Ḥusain Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. al-Munādī al-Baghdādī (d. 336) in *al-Malāḥim*.
23. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354) in *al-Ṣaḥīh*.
24. Abū l-Qāsim Sulaimān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360) in *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*.
25. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Muqrī al-Iṣbahānī (d. 381) in *al-Mu'jam*.
26. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Dāraqutnī (d. 385) in *al-Afrād*.



27. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Khaṭṭāb al-Bustī al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388) in *Ma'ālim al-Sunan*.
28. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Manda (d. 396) in *Tārīkh Iṣbahān*.
29. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥākim al-Naisābūrī (d. 405) in *al-Mustadrak*.
30. Tammām b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far al-Rāzī (d. 411) in *al-Fawā'id*.
31. Abū Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad (d. 430) in *Kitāb al-Mahdī* and *Hilya al-Awliyā*.
32. Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān b. Sa'id al-Dānī (d. 444) in *al-Sunan*.
33. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. Mūsā al-Baihaqī (d. 458) in *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*.
34. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463) in *Talkhīṣ al-Mutashābih* and *Kitāb al-Muttafiq wa l-Muftariq*.
35. Abū Manṣūr Shahardar b. Shirwaih al-Dailamī (d. 558) in *Musnad al-Firdaus*.
36. Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 571) in *al-Tārīkh*.
37. Abū l-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī l-Ḥusain b. al-Jauzī (d. 597) in *al-Tārīkh*.

## APPENDIX TWO

### Later traditionists and scholars who wrote in support of the idea of the Mahdī

1. Abū Zaid Aḥmad b. Salīl al-Balkhī (d. 322 AH) in *al-Bad' u wa l-Tārīkh*.
2. Abū l-Husain Muhammad b. al-Husain al-Āburī al-Sijizzī (d. 363) in *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī*.
3. Al-Husain b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Farrā al-Baghawī (d. 510 or 516) in *Maṣābīh al-Sunnah*.
4. Al-Qāḍī 'Iyād (d. 544) in *Kitāb al-Shifā'*.
5. Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazrī, Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 606), in *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl*, vol. 11.
6. Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Muḥī al-Dīn (d. 638) in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*.
7. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Adawī (d. 652) in *Maṭālib al-Sū'l fī Manāqib Āl al-Rasūl*.
10. Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, Yūsuf b. Qaz Ughālī in *Tadhkira al-Khawāṣṣ*.
11. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Abū Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Hibatullāh in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*.
12. 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī b. 'Abdullāh al-Mundhirī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 656) in *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd*.
13. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī (d. 671) in *al-Tadhkira fī Aḥwāl al-Mantawa al-Ākhira*.
14. Ibn Khillakān, Abū l-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 681) in *Wafīyyat al-A'yān wa Anba Abnā al-Zamān*, vol. 4.
15. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 694) in *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā fī Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurbā*.
16. Ibn Taimiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Ḥarrānī (d. 728) in *Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyya*.
17. Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū l-Majāmi' Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥamū'ī (d. 732) in *Farā'id al-Samtain*.
18. Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī (d. after 737) in *Mishkāṭ al-Masābīh*.
19. Ibn al-Wardī, Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muzaffar al-Ḥalabī in *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib wa Farīdat al-Gharā'ib*.
20. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (d. 742) in *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*.
21. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahabī (d. 748) in *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak*.



22. Ibn al-Qayyim, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ḥanbalī (d. 751), in *al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa al-Da‘if*.
23. Ibn Kathīr, ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā ‘Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar (d. 774), in *al-Nihāya*.
24. ‘Alī b. Shihāb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Ḥamdānī (d. 786) in *Mawadda al-Qurbā wa Ahl al-‘Ibāda*, which is a copy of *Yanābi‘ al-Mawadda* by Sulaimān b. Ibrāhīm Khawāja Kālān al-Ḥusainī al-Qandūzī.
25. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdullāh Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793) in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*.
26. Al-Haithamī, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr b. Sulaimān (d. 807) in:
  - (i) *Majma‘ al-Zawā‘id wa Manba‘ al-Fawā‘id*, vol 7;
  - (ii) *Mawārid al-Zam‘ān ilā Zawā‘id Ibn Hibbān*.
27. Ibn Ḥajar, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852) in *Fath al-Bārī* and in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* under the tarjama of ‘Alī b. Nufail al-Nahdī.
28. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mālikī (d. 855) in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma fī Ma‘rifa Aḥwāl al-A‘imma*.
29. Al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Khair Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 902) in *Irtiqā‘ al-Ghuraf* as quoted in *Maqāṣid al-Ḥasana*.
30. Al-Samhūdī, Nūr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥasanī (d. 911) in *Wafā‘ al-Wafā bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*.
31. Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) in *al-‘Urf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Mahdī*.
32. Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ṭaulūn al-Dimashqī (d. 953) in *al-A‘imma al-Ithnā ‘Ashar*.
33. Al-Sha‘rānī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (d. 973) in *al-Yawāqīt wa l-Jawāhir fī bayān ‘Aqā‘id al-Akābir*.
34. Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Haitamī (d. 974) in:
  - (i) *al-Qaul al-Mukhtaṣar fī ‘Alāmāt al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*;
  - (ii) *al-Sawā‘iq al-Muḥriqa fī al-Radd ‘alā ahl al-Bid‘a wa al-Zandaqa*;
  - (iii) *al-Fatāwā al-Ḥadīthiyya*.
35. ‘Alī al-Muttaqī, ‘Alā‘ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn (d. 975) in *Kanz al-‘Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa l-Af‘āl*.
36. Mullah ‘Alī al-Qārī, ‘Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 1014) in:
  - (i) *al-Mashrab al-Wardī fī Madhḥab al-Mahdī*;
  - (ii) *Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ fī Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*;
  - (iii) *al-Maudū‘āt al-Kabīr*.
37. Bahā al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (d. 1031) in *al-Kashkūl*.
38. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf b. ‘Alī al-Manāwī (d. 1031) in *Faiḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr*.
39. Mar‘ī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1033) in *Fawā‘id al-Fikr fī Zuhūr al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*.

40. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl al-Ḥasanī al-Barzanjī (d. 1103) in *al-Ishā‘a li Ashrāt al-Sā‘a*.
41. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālīm al-Safārīnī (d. 1188) in *Lawāmi‘ al-Anwār al-Bahiyya wa Sawāṭi‘ al-Asrār al-Thariyya*.
42. Abū al-‘Irfān Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ṣabbān al-Miṣrī al-Shaf‘ī (d. 1206) in *Is‘āf al-Rāghibīn fī Ṣirāt al-Muṣṭafā*.
43. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206) in *al-Radd ‘alā al-Rāfiḍa*.
44. Al-Qāḍī Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250) in *al-Tawḍīḥ fī Tawātur mā jā‘a fī al-Mahdī wa al-Dajjāl wa al-Masīḥ*.
45. Sayyid Mu‘min b. Ḥasan b. Mu‘min al-Shablanjī (d. after 1290) in *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Al Bait al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*.
46. Ḥasan al-‘Adawī al-Hamzawī al-Miṣrī (d. 1303) in *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī Farz Ahl al-I‘tibār*.
47. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qannūjī (d. 1307) in *al-Idhā‘a limā kāna wa mā yakūn baina Yadai al-Sā‘a*.
48. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ḥalawanī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1308) in *al-Qaṭr al-Shahdī fī Auṣāf al-Mahdī*.
49. Khair al-Dīn Nu‘mān b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Abdullāh Abū l-Barakāt al-Ālūsī (d. 1317) in *Ghāliyat al-Mawā‘iz wa Miṣbāḥ al-Mutta‘iz wa Qabas al-Wā‘iz*.
50. Muḥammad Bashīr al-Sahsawānī (d. 1326) in *Ṣiyānat al-Insān ‘an Waswasat al-Dahlān*.
51. Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq al-‘Azīm ‘Ābādī in *‘Aun al-Ma‘būd Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*.
52. Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Kattānī (d. 1345) in *Nazm al-Mutanāthir min al-Ḥadīth al-Mutawātir*.
53. Muḥammad Anwar Shāh al-Kashmīrī (d. 1352) in *‘Aqīdat al-Islām*.
54. Abū l-‘Alī Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Mubārakpurī (d. 1353) in *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwazī Sharḥ Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī*.
55. Muḥammad al-Khidr al-Miṣrī (d. 1377) in *Nazra fī Aḥādīth al-Mahdī*, an article published in *Majallat al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* (Muḥarram 1370).
56. Mansur b. ‘Alī Nasif (d. after 1371) in *al-Taj al-Jami‘ li al-Usul fī Ahadith al-Rasul*.
57. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Siddiq al-Ghimari al-Hasani al-Azhari (d. 1380) in *Ibraz al-Wahm al-Maknun min Kalam Ibn Khaldun*.
58. Abu l-Qasim Rafiq Dilawari (d. around 1350) in *A‘imma Talbis*.
59. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shakir (d. 1377) in *Takhrij Ahadith Musnad Imam Ahmad*.
60. Abu l-A‘la al-Maududi (d. 1399) *Tajdid wa Ihya al-Din* (an Urdu publication).
61. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdullāh b. Bāz in *Ta‘līq ‘alā Muḥādarat al-Shaikh ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-‘Abbād*, an article in *Majallat al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmīa*, (Dhū al-Qa‘da 1388).



62. Muhammad Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī in *al-Sunna*, an article published in *Majallat al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī*, (Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1370).
63. ‘Abd al-Muḥṣin b. Ḥamd al-‘Abbād in:
  - (i) *al-Radd ‘alā man Kadhdhaba bi al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥa al-Wārida fī al-Mahdī*.
  - (ii) *‘Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnā wa al-Athar fī al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*.
64. Ḥāmid b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥāmid al-Tuwaijirī in *Iqāmat al-Burhān fī al-Radd ‘alā man ankara Khurūj al-Mahdī wa al-Dajjāl wa Nuzūl al-Masīḥ fī Ākhir al-Zamān*.
65. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Manī in:
  - (i) *al-Kawākib al-Durriyya*;
  - (ii) *Taḥdīq al-Nazar bi Akhbār al-Imām al-Muntazar*.
66. ‘Abd al-‘Alīm ‘Abd al-‘Azīm in *al-Aḥādīth al-Wārida fī al-Mahdī fī Mīzān al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta‘dīl*, manuscript.
67. Ibrāhīm al-Mashūkhī in *al-Mahdī al-Muntazar*.
68. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl in *al-Mahdī Ḥaqīqa Lā Khurāfa*.
69. Mahdī al-Faqīh al-Yamānī in *al-Imām al-Mahdī ‘inda Ahl al-Sunna*.

### APPENDIX THREE

#### A list of Muslim scholars who reject the concept of the Mahdi

1. Abū Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Baghdādī. Ibn Taimiya reported in *Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya*, (8:256), that he rejected the aḥādīth of the Mahdi.
2. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808) in *al-Muqaddima*.
3. Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī in *Dā'ira al-Ma'ārif al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn*, 10:481.
4. Aḥmad Amīn in *Duḥā al-Islām*, 3:241.
5. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in *Tafsīr al-Manār*, 3:317.
6. Muḥammad Fahīm Abū 'Ubayya in his *Preface to al-Nihāya* by Ibn Kathīr.
7. 'Abdullāh b. Zaid Āl-Maḥmūd in *Lā Mahdī Yuntaẓar ba'd al-Rasūl Khair al-Bashar*.
8. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī in his Urdu title, *Mahdawiyyat ne Islam ko Kiya Diya*.



# **PART ONE**

**TRANSLATION OF AHĀDĪTH ON *FITAN***

## CHAPTER ONE

### AḤĀDĪTH OF ‘ABD AL-RAZZĀO b. HAMMĀM AL-ṢAN‘ĀNĪ (d. 211)

In his collection, *al-Muṣannaf*, ‘Abd al-Razzāq transmitted thirteen aḥādīth under the chapter heading ‘al-Mahdī’ and two under ‘al-Dajjāl’. The aḥādīth from the chapter on the Mahdi are as follows:

1) On the authority of Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet (SAS): The Prophet said, “There will be disagreement at the death of a caliph. A man will leave the people of Madina and flee to Makka, where some of its people will come to him and bring him out (from his house) against his will, and then give him their pledge between the Pillar and the Station (of Ibrāhīm). A contingent will be sent towards him from al-Shām which will sink into the desert between Makka and Madina. When the people see that, Abdāl of al-Shām and parties of the people of al-‘Irāq will come to him and give him their pledge. Then a man from Quraish, whose in-laws will be from Kalb, will appear and despatch a contingent towards them, but they will defeat the contingent of Kalb. Woe to those who are not present at (the distribution of) the war-booty of Kalb! He will bring forth the treasures and distribute wealth, and act according to the Sunna of their Prophet (SAS) and will make Islam prevail in the land through his power. He will remain (in authority) for seven years, after which he will die and the Muslims will pray over him.”

Abū Dāwūd said, “Some of them reported on the authority of Hishām that he will live for nine years. Others said: seven years.”

(‘Abd al-Razzāq, 11:20769)

2) Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī said that the Messenger of Allah mentioned that “a calamity will befall this Umma . such that a man will not be able to find a shelter from injustice. At this time, Allah will send a man from my family - my household - who will fill the earth with justice as it had been filled with injustice and tyranny; with him will be pleased the dwellers of Earth and the dwellers of Heaven. Any water which the sky will have, it will pour unstintingly, and any water which the earth will have, it will bring it forth, so that eventually the living souls will envy the dead. He will stay like this for seven or eight or nine years.”



3) Abū l-Jalad said, “There will be a *fitna* followed by another. The first will be like the knot of a whip in comparison to the second, which will be followed by the sharp edge of the sword. After this there will be a *fitna* during which everything prohibited by Allāh will be legalised. Then the people will agree on the best among them, a man to whom the rule will come comfortably, while he is still in his house.”

(11:20771)

4) Ka‘b said, “He is named ‘Mahdi’ because he gives guidance about matters which are hidden.”

He also said, “He will bring forth the *Injīl* (Gospel) and the *Taurāt* (Torah) from a land known as Antākiya.”

(11:20772)

5) Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī said that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, “The Mahdi shall descend from me. He will have a white forehead and a hooked nose. He will fill the earth with justice and equity just as it will have been filled with tyranny and oppression, and will rule for seven years.”

(11:20773)

6) Jābir b. ‘Abdullāh said, “There will be an Imām over the people who will not count out dirhams for the people, but will instead pour them out.”

(11:20774)

7) ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās said, “The Mahdi will not appear until a sign emerges along with the rising of the sun.”

(11:20775)

8) ‘Alī said, “The earth will most certainly be filled with tyranny and oppression until no-one will be able to say ‘Allāh, Allāh’ and cling to it. It will then be filled with justice and equity, just as it had been filled with tyranny and oppression.”

(11:20776)

9) Abū Hurairah said, “Woe to the Arabs from an evil that approaches at the beginning of the sixties, when trust becomes booty, charity becomes a fine, testimony is linked to acquaintance, and judgment is based on personal whims.”

(11:20777)

10) ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr said, “There will certainly come to the people a time when no believer will remain except in al-Shām.”

(11:20778)

11) Al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “The matter of the Euphrates was referred to ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd. The people said, ‘We are afraid of it flooding upon us, so you should send someone to block it.’ ‘Abdullāh said, ‘We will not block it. By Allāh, a time will certainly come to the people when you will not be able to find enough water in it to fill a brass goblet, were you to look for it. All the water will certainly return to its source; the remaining water and the Muslims will be at al-Shām’.”

(11:20779)

12) Ibn Sīrin said, “The son of Maryam will descend, wearing his breastplate and two yellow pieces of cloth, between the *adhān* and *iqāma*. The people will say to him, ‘Come forward (to lead the prayer).’ He will say, ‘No, your Imām will lead you in prayer; you are the rulers, some of you over others’.”

(11:20838)

13) Ma‘mar said that Ibn Sīrin was of the opinion that this Imām behind whom ‘Īsā will pray will be the Mahdi.

(11:20839)



## CHAPTER TWO

### AḤĀDĪTH OF NU‘AIM B. ḤAMMĀD (d. 228)

A selection of aḥādīth collected by Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād in *Kitāb al-Fitan* is translated below. References are to the manuscript of this work preserved in the British Library, London.

1) Ibn ‘Abbās reported that he visited Mu‘āwiya, who gave him a fine gift and then asked him, “O Ibn ‘Abbās! Will you create a state (*dawla*...)?” He said, “Excuse me (from answering) such questions.” He said, “But you must (answer)!” Ibn ‘Abbās replied, “That will happen at the end of time.” He said, “Who will be your supporters?” Ibn ‘Abbās replied, “The people of Khurāsān.” He then added, “Banū Umayya will strike Banū Hāshim, and Banū Hāshim will strike Banū Umayya; then the Sufyānī will come forth.” (folio 102)

2) Abū Hurairah reported, “I was in the house of Ibn ‘Abbās. He asked for the door to be closed, and then enquired, ‘Is there anyone among us from the other tribes?’ They (i.e. those present) replied, ‘No’ - I was sitting in a corner. Ibn ‘Abbās said, ‘When you see the black flags approaching from the east, then respect the Persians because our rule will be among them’.”

Abū Hurairah continued, “I then said to Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Should I not narrate to you what I heard from the Messenger of Allāh?’ He said (out of surprise), ‘Are you here as well?’ I said, ‘Yes.’ He said, ‘Tell me (what you heard).’ I said, ‘I heard the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) saying, “When the black flags come forth, (then behold) the first of them (will mark) the *fitna*, the middle ones (will mark) a period of misguidance, the last ones (will mark) infidelity”’.” (f. 103)

3) Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, “Black flags of Banū ‘Abbās will come forth from the East. They will then remain as long as Allāh wills. Then small black flags will come forth from the East on the hand of a man from the offspring of Abū Sufyān.” (f. 103)

4) Muḥammad b. ‘Alī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "Woe to my Ummah from two factions, that of Banū Umayya and that of Banū ‘Abbās, and from the flag of misguidance."  
(f. 105)

5) Ka‘b said, "The days will not end until the black flags of Banu ‘Abbās come forth from the East."  
(f. 105)

6) Abū Qābil said, "The people will be safe and prosperous until the end of the rule of Banu ‘Abbās. Once their rule terminates, they will be in troubled conditions until the advent of the Mahdi."  
(f. 110)

7) Abū Umayya al-Kalbī said, "An old man who belonged to Jāhiliyya (i.e. the pre-Islamic era) and whose eyebrows fell over his eyes told us, 'The people of the black flags will remain strong until they start differing among themselves. By differing with each other, they will be divided into three parties: one party making propaganda for Banū Fāṭima; one for Banū ‘Abbās; the third for themselves.' I said, 'Who will be the best of them?' He said, 'I do not know. I (only) heard this much'."  
(f. 111)

8) Ibn Mas‘ūd reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "The seventh one of Banū ‘Abbās will call the people to infidelity, but they will not respond to him. Members of his own household will say to him, 'Do you want to take us away from (the way of) our life?' He will say, 'I will follow in the footsteps of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar among you.' But they will reject him, and one of his own household, an enemy from Banū Hāshim, will come out to kill him; when he attacks him, they will start differing among themselves." (Ibn Mas‘ūd added that:) He then spoke of a long dispute until the coming forth of the Sufyānī.  
(f. 111)

9) Ka‘b said, "When the two men belonging to two branches of Banū ‘Abbās are deposed, the first dispute will take place among them, followed by the second dispute, which will be disastrous. The Sufyānī will come forth at their second dispute."  
(f. 112)



10) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya said, "Banū 'Abbās will rule until the people will have no hope left of any good. Then they will be in desperation to the extent that were they to find the hole of a scorpion, they would enter it (for shelter). A long period of evil will follow until their rule comes to an end. Then the Mahdi will come forth."  
(p. 112)

11) Ibn 'Abbās reported that the Messenger of Allah (SAS) said, "Await a great trouble when the fifth one of my household dies, and then the seventh one dies. Then it will remain as it is until the advent of the Mahdi."  
(f. 112)

12) Arṭāt said, "The Sufyānī will fight the Turks, who will then be completely annihilated at the hands of the Mahdi. This will be the first flag hoisted by the Mahdi in advancing against the Turks."  
(f. 115)

13) Zuhri said that a sign would be seen in the sky when the Sufyānī comes forth.  
(f. 117)

14) Walīd said, "It was conveyed to me that Ka'b said, 'A star with a tail will appear before the Mahdi comes forth.' It was also reported to me from Sharīk who said, 'I was told that the sun will eclipse twice in the month of Ramadān before the Mahdi comes forth'."  
(f. 120)

15) Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib said, "There will be a *fitna* in al-Shām. If it comes to an end in one place, it will break out again in another place, and it will not cease until someone announces from the sky that your *Amīr* is so-and-so."  
(f. 124)

16) 'Abdullāh said, "No one will be saved from this *fitna* except the one who stands fast against the siege. The shelter from the Sufyānī, with the permission of Allāh, will be three towns of the non-Arabs: a town at the border known as Antākiyya (Antioch), a town known as Qūrus, and a town known as Khamīsa. The shelter from the Romans will be a mountain known as al-'Unuq."  
(f. 130)

17) Zuhri said, "The people of black flags will meet the people of yellow flags at the bridge, where they will fight when they come to Palestine. At that time, the Sufyānī will appear among the people of the East. When the people of the West come to Jordan, their leader will die and they will be divided into three parties: a party which will return whence it came; another will depart for the Pilgrimage; the third will stand firm. The Sufyānī will fight them until they are defeated and obliged to obey him."  
(f. 141)

18) 'Amr b. Shu'aib reported on the authority of his father who said, "I came to 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar when Ḥajjāj invaded the Ka'ba. I heard him saying, 'When the black flags come from the East and the yellow flags from the West, and they meet in the belly-button of al-Shām, meaning Damascus, then there will be the calamity'."  
(f. 143)

19) Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya said, "From the time of the appearance of the black flag at Khurāsān, and of Shu'aib b. Ṣālih and the Mahdi, until the whole affair is established for the Mahdi, will be seventy-two months."  
(f. 147)

20) Sulaimān b. 'Īsā said, "It reached me that the Sufyānī will rule for three and a half years."  
(f. 147)

21) 'Alī said, "The Sufyānī descends from the sons of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. He is a man of huge skull, with small pock-marks on his face and a white dot in his eye. He will come forth at a valley known as *Wādī al-Yābis* (the dry valley) from a locality in the city of Damascus. He will be accompanied by seven persons, one of whom will have a flag hoisted which will be renowned for victory; this man will be marching thirty miles ahead of him. Anyone intending to face him will see that flag and retreat."  
(f. 148)

22) Ka'b said, "The Sufyānī's name is 'Abdullāh."  
(f. 149)

23) Abū Qābīl said, "A man from Banū Hāshim will rule and will kill those of Banū Umayya to such a degree that only a small number of them will remain. He will kill no-one other than them. Then a man from Banū



Umayya will come forth and kill two people as vengeance for each one (of his own) until none except the women will be left. Then the Mahdi will come forth."  
(f. 149)

24) Ibn 'Abbās said, "If the Sufyānī comes forth in the year thirty-seven, his rule will last twenty-eight days, and if he comes forth in the year thirty-nine, his rule will last nine months."  
(f. 150)

25) Dhū Farnāt said, "The people will then be divided behind four men: two men at al-Shām - a man from the family of al-Ḥakam, (who will be) reddish-blue, and a man from the tribe of Muḍar, (who will be) short and tyrannical; the Sufyānī; and the one who takes shelter in Makkah. So altogether they are four."  
(f. 152)

26) Al-Walīd said, "The Sufyānī will then advance and fight Banū Hāshim as well as all those from the people of the three flags and elsewhere who confront him. He will defeat them all, and then proceed to Kūfa and expel Banū Hāshim to 'Irāq. On his retreat from Kūfa, he will die close to al-Shām. He will deputise another man from the offspring of Abū Sufyān, who will also be called Sufyānī, and who will dominate all the people."  
(f. 154)

27) Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya said, "After defeating the spotted one, the Sufyānī will enter Egypt. At that time, Egypt will suffer ruin."  
(f. 155)

28) Ya'qūb b. Ishāq, a scholar in the matters of Fitan, said, "A man from the progeny of Banū 'Abbās will enter Riqqa, where he will stay for two years. He will then fight the Romans but treat the Muslims worse than the Romans. He will then return to Riqqa where he will face all that he dislikes from the East, so he will advance to the East, from where he will never return. His son will then take over, but at the beginning of his rule, the Sufyānī will come forth and this rule will terminate."  
(f. 161)

29) 'Alī said, "The Sufyānī will dominate al-Shām. Then there will be a battle among them at Qarqīsa at which the birds in the sky and the beasts of the earth will eat their fill of their dead. Then a group will break away

from their rear and will go out until they reach Khurāsān. The horses of the Sufyānī will give chase to the people of Khurāsān and will kill the supporters of the family of Muḥammad at Kūfa. Then the people of Khurāsān will come out looking for the Mahdi."  
(f. 162)

30) Ibn ‘Abbās said, "The Sufyānī will come out and fight to the extent that he will tear apart the bellies of the women and boil their babies in copper cauldrons."  
(f. 165)

31 ) Arṭāt said, "After entering Kūfa, the Sufyānī will desecrate it for three days, killing sixty thousand of its people, and stay there for eighteen nights distributing its wealth. He will enter Makka after his encounter with the Turks and Romans at Qarqīsa. Then, because of a dissension in their rear, a party of them will return to Khurāsān. The Sufyānī's horsemen will approach them and destroy their forts until he enters Kūfa and searches for the people of Khurāsān. Some people at Khurāsān will make propaganda for the Mahdi. Then the Sufyānī will send (a party) to Madīna where they will capture some of the family of Muḥammad and bring them back to Kūfa. Then the Mahdi and Manṣūr will run away from Kūfa, and the Sufyānī will commission a party to chase them. As the Mahdi and Manṣūr reach Makka, the contingent of the Sufyānī will encamp at al-Baiḍā', where they will be swallowed up (by the earth). Then the Mahdi will come forth and visit Madīna, where he will come to the help of the members of Banū Hāshim left there. The black flags will then come and encamp at (a location of) water. As soon as the news of their arrival reaches the people of the Sufyānī at Kūfa, they will start escaping. He will then come to Kūfa and liberate all members of Banū Hāshim remaining there. A people known as ‘Usab from the heart of Kūfa, with few weapons and accompanied by a number of the people of Baṣra, will give chase to the people of the Sufyānī and liberate the Kūfan captives from their hands. The (people of the) black flags will send their oath of allegiance to the Mahdi."  
(f. 166)

32) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya said, "The black flags of the ‘Abbāsids will appear, followed by similar black flags from Khurāsān. Their caps will be black and their clothes white. They will be led by a man known as Shu‘aib b. Ṣālih or Ṣālih b. Shu‘aib, from the tribe of Tamīm. They will defeat the people of the Sufyānī until he (i.e. Shu‘aib) comes to Jerusalem to establish the rule of the Mahdi. He will reinforce him with three hundred persons from al-Shām. Between his appearance and the establishment of the rule of the Mahdi will be seventy-two months."  
(f. 166)



33) ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd said, “While we were with the Messenger of Allāh, there came some youths of the Banū Hāshim. When he saw them his eyes flowed with tears and his colour changed. We said, ‘O Messenger of Allāh, we have for some time seen in your face something we dislike.’ He said, ‘Allāh has chosen for us, the People of the House, the hereafter over this world. The People of My House shall meet misfortune, banishment and persecution until some people come from the East with black flags. They will ask for charity but will not be given it. Then they will fight and be victorious. Now they will be given what they had asked for, yet they will not accept it but will finally hand it (i.e. rule over the land) over to a man of My Family. He will fill it with justice as they had filled it with injustice. Whoever of you lives to witness that, let him go there even though it be creeping on snow, for that is the Mahdi’.”  
(f. 167)

34) Thaubān said, "If you happen to see the black flags coming from Khurasan, join them even if it means creeping on snow, because among them will be the Mahdi, the Khalīfa of Allāh."  
(f. 167)

35) Abū Ja‘far said, "A young man from Banū Hāshim with a mole on his right palm will come forth with black flags at Khurāsān. At his head will stand Shu‘aib b. Ṣālih, who will fight the people of the Sufyānī and defeat them."  
(f. 168)

36) Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "From the east, black flags of Banu ‘Abbās will appear and last as long as Allāh wills; then small black flags will appear from the East and fight a man from the posterity of Abū Sufyān and his people. They will pledge to obey the Mahdi."  
(f. 169)

37) Shuraiḥ b. ‘Ubaid, Rashīd b. Sa‘d, Ḍamura b. Ḥabīb and their shuyūkh said, "The Sufyānī will send his horses and armies, which will reach most of the East, i.e. Khurāsān and Persia. The people of the East will be enraged and will fight them in a number of encounters at different places. As the fighting will continue for a long time, they will give an oath of allegiance to a Hashmite while in the furthest part of the East. At that time, the people of Khurāsān will be led by a man from Banū Tamīm, one of their free slaves, yellowish in colour, having a short beard who will come

forth with five thousand men. When he hears about the appearance of the Hashmite, he will give him his pledge as well and will be commissioned to lead the army. So powerful a man will he be that if confronted by solid mountains, he would crush them. On meeting the horses of the Sufyānī, he will defeat them and kill a great number of them. Eventually, the Sufyānī will prevail. The Hashmite will flee and Shu'aib b. Ṣālih will go secretly to Jerusalem, where he will pave the way for the Mahdi's rule as soon as he hears of the latter's appearance at al-Shām."  
(f. 174)

38) Walīd said, "It reached me that the said Hashmite is a brother of the Mahdi from the same father. Someone else said that he was his cousin."

Walīd said, "Someone else says that he will not die but proceed to Makka after his defeat. He will come forth with the Mahdi when the latter appears."  
(f. 174)

39) 'Alī b. Abī Tālib said, "The Sufyānī will write to the one who entered Kūfa with his horses and left it torn like a skin, ordering him to advance towards the Ḥijāz. So he will proceed to Madīna and unleash his sword among the Quraish, killing four hundred of them and of the Anṣār. He will tear bellies apart, slaughter children and kill two brothers from Quraish called Muḥammad and Fāṭima; he will then crucify them at the gate of Madīna."  
(f. 175)

40) 'Alī said, "An army will be sent to Madīna to capture whomsoever of the Prophet's family it can, and then it will kill a number of men and women from among the Hashmites. At that time, the Mahdi and the white one will escape from Madīna to Makka. He will despatch (a party) in their pursuit while they take refuge at the Sacred Place of Allāh."  
(f. 175)

41) Ka'b said, "At that time, Madīna will be desecrated and *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya* will be killed."  
(f. 176)

42) Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (SAS) said, "I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, 'An army from the West will come towards this House (of Allāh). They will be swallowed up as soon as they reach al-Baidā'. Those who will have already proceeded further will return to see what will have



happened to their people, and the same fate will befall them. Those at the rear will observe this and they too will suffer the same fate. Hence, all will face the same end, including those forced to join the army. However, Allāh Almighty will resurrect them according to their intentions'."

(f. 178)

43) Dhū Qurubāt said, "When the news reaches the Sufyānī, while he is in Egypt, he will send forth a contingent to the one at Makka. They will bring worse ruin upon Madīna than occurred on (the day of) Ḥarra. They will be swallowed up when they reach al-Baidā'."

(f. 179)

44) Abū Ja'far said, "They will be swallowed up and no one will be saved except two men from the tribe of Kalb named Wabr and Wabīr. Their faces will be turned around to the napes of their necks."

(f. 179)

45) Abū Qābīl said, "None of them will escape except the *Bashīr* (carrier of good news) and the *Nadhīr* (warner). As for Bashīr, he will come to the Mahdi and his companions at Makka and inform them of what happened to the rest; his face will be a witness to his story since it will have been turned around to his nape. They will believe his story due to the state of his face and will know that the people had been swallowed. Another whose face had been turned around to his nape will come to the Sufyānī and inform him of what happened to his people. He will believe him because of the sign of his face. Both will be men from the tribe of Kalb."

(f. 180)

46) 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr said, "The sign of the appearance of the Mahdi is the swallowing up of an army at Baidā'."

(f. 181)

47) Ka'b said, "The sign of the appearance of the Mahdi will be the flags coming from the West, led by a lame man from the tribe of Kinda ."

(f. 181)

48) 'Abbās said, "The Mahdi will not come forth until a sign appears in the sun."

(f. 181)

- 49) Maṭar al-Warrāq said, "The Mahdi will not come forth until Allāh is rejected openly."  
(f. 181)
- 50) ‘Ali said, "The Mahdi will not come forth until three are killed, three face death, and three survive."  
(f. 181)
- 51) Abū Qābīl said, "People will congregate around the Mahdi in the year 204."  
Ibn Lahī‘a said, "This is according to the calculations of the non-‘Arabs, but not according to the reckoning of the ‘Arabs."  
(f. 182)
- 52) A man from the people of the West (Maghrib) said, "The Mahdi will not appear until a man comes forth with his beautiful daughter to say to the people, 'Who will buy this girl for the price of food equal to her weight?' In such times will the Mahdi appear."  
(f. 182)
- 53) Abū Ja‘far said, "Someone will pronounce from the sky, 'Behold! The Right belongs to the family of Muḥammad.' However, someone on earth will announce, 'Behold! The Right belongs to the family of ‘Īsā’ or ‘Abbās’ ... I am doubtful about which it is... 'The lower voice is from Satan, intending to confuse the people.' Abū ‘Abdullāh Nu‘aim is the one in doubt."  
(f. 183)
- 54) Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān reported that he said to his mother who was very old, "People are dying in the troubles of Ibn al-Zubair."  
She said, "Never, my son! After this, there will be trouble which will cause the people to die. Their affairs will not be set aright until someone calls from the sky, 'Follow so-and-so'."  
(f. 184)
- 55) ‘Ammār b. Yāsir said, "After the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother at Makka, a pronouncer will call from the heaven, 'Your Amīr is so-and-so.' That will refer to the Mahdi, who will fill the land with truth and justice."  
(f. 184)



56) ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr said, “People will perform the Ḥajj together; they will go to ‘Arafāt together without being led by an Imām. While they are at Minā, they will become rabied like dogs, one tribe against another. So fiercely will they fight each other that ‘Aqaba will flow with blood. So they will come to the best of them: a man crying with his face close to the wall of the Ka‘ba - it appears to me as if I was looking at his tears. They will say to him, ‘Come, we shall pledge to you.’ He will say, ‘Woe to you! How many promises you have broken! And how many lives you have taken!’ He will be forced to accept the pledge of allegiance against his will. If you happen to reach him, give your pledge to him, for he is the Mahdi in the earth and in the heaven.”  
(f. 186)

57) Abān b. al-Walid said that he heard Ibn ‘Abbās saying, “Allāh Almighty will not send the Mahdi until the people start saying in disappointment, ‘There is no Mahdi.’ His helpers will be some people from the people of al-Shām, numbering three hundred and fifteen men, similar to the number of participants in the battle of Badr. They will come to him from al-Shām and will bring him forth from a house at Ṣafā in the heart of Makka. They will pledge themselves to him in spite of his unwillingness. He will lead them in a prayer consisting of two rak‘at, like the traveller’s prayer, at the Station (of Ibrāhīm). Then he will ascend the pulpit.”  
(f. 186)

58) Abū Huraira said, “The Mahdi will be pledged allegiance between the Pillar and the Station. He will neither awake the one who is asleep nor shed any blood.”  
(f. 186)

59) Qatāda reported that the Prophet said, “He will leave Madīna for Makka. The people will bring him forth from among themselves and give their pledge to him against his will.”  
(f. 187)

60) Abū l-Jalad said, “The leadership will come to him comfortably, while he is at his house.”  
(f. 187)

61) Abū Ja‘far said, “Then at ‘Ishā (night prayer), the Mahdi will appear at Makka, holding with him the flag of the Messenger of Allāh (SAS), his shirt and his sword, as well as other signs such as light and power of expression. After praying ‘Ishā, he will say at the top of his voice, ‘O

people! I remind you of Allāh and your standing before your Lord. He held forth the proof, sent the Prophets and revealed the Book. He commanded you not to join gods with Him. So keep obeying Him and His Messenger; revive what the Qur'ān has revived and destroy what it has destroyed; be supporters of the Guidance and helpers of Righteousness, as the world has approached its end and decline and has bid farewell. I call you to Allāh and His Messenger and to act upon His Book, to destroy falsehood and to revive his Sunnah.' He will appear with three hundred and thirteen men, equal in number to the people of Badr, with no appointed time, like the pumpkins growing in autumn. They will be ascetics by night, and lions by day. Allāh will enable the Mahdi to gain victory over the land of Hijāz. He will liberate all the Hashimites from prison. The black flag reach Kūfa and send the pledge to the Mahdi, who will despatch his soldiers to every corner and annihilate all injustice and its perpetrators. The towns will flourish under him and Allāh will honour him by giving him victory over Constantine."

(f. 188)

62) 'Abdullāh b. Mas'ūd said, "Seven scholars from various places will gather together without prior appointment at a time when trade will cease, roads will be cut off and troubles will grow. To each of them, three hundred and ten or more people will give their pledge until they assemble at Makka. The seven will say to each other, 'What brought you here?' They will reply, 'Seeking the man on whose hand troubles will come to an end and by whom Constantine will be conquered. We know him by his name, his father's and mother's name and his countenance.' All seven of them will agree and start looking for him until they find him in Makka. They will say to him, 'Are you so-and-so, the son of so-and-so?' He will say, 'No, I am a man from the Anṣār.' By saying this he will escape from them. They will then describe him to the people of knowledge and experience, who will confirm that he is the very man they had been seeking, and that he had escaped to Madīna. Hence they will search for him in Madīna, so he will slip away to Makka. Eventually they will catch up with him at Makka. They will say to him, 'You are so-and-so, son of so-and-so. Your mother is so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so. Such-and-such signs are found in you. You have escaped from us once, so stretch out your hand, so that we may give our pledge to you.' He will say, 'I am not the one for whom you are looking. I am so-and-so, a man from the Anṣār. Let me guide you to your man.' He will escape from them once again by saying this. They will look for him at Madīna, while he will once again escape to Makka. Eventually they will find him at the Pillar in Makka. They will say to him, 'Our sins and our blood will be upon your neck if you do not extend your hand so that we may give give a pledge to you. Look at the Sufyānī's army which is in pursuit of us; they are led by a man from Ḥaram.' At this, the man will take his seat between the Pillar and the



Station and extend his hand, and be given the pledge. Allah will make the people love him. Hence he will be in the company of people who will be lions by day and monks by night.”  
(f. 189)

63) Qatāda reported that the Messenger of Allah said, "When Abdāl of al-Shām and parties of the people of al-‘Irāq come to him, they will give him their pledge between the Pillar and the Station (of Ibrāhīm)."  
(f. 189)

64) Muḥammad b. ‘Alī said, “When the one who takes refuge at Makka hears about the sinking into the earth, he will come out with twelve thousand, including the *Abdāl*, until they reach Jerusalem. Hence the one who had sent his army (beforehand) will say on hearing the news, ‘By Allah, He has given a lesson through this man. I sent whatever (armies) I could towards this man, but they sank into the earth; a lesson as well as an admonition.’ So the Sufyānī will give him a pledge of obedience and then come out to meet the people of Kalb, his maternal kin, who will blame him for what his actions and say, ‘Allāh clothed you in a shirt which you took off.’ He will say, ‘What do you suggest? Should I withdraw my pledge?’ They will reply, ‘Yes.’ So he will come to Jerusalem and say to him, ‘Accept my withdrawal!’ He will reply, ‘I will not do that.’ The Sufyānī will say, ‘You must.’ He will say, ‘Do you want me to kill you?’ He will reply, ‘Yes.’ So he will kill him saying, ‘This is the man who withdrew the pledge of obedience from me.’ Then, by his command, he will be slaughtered at the palace of Jerusalem. He will then advance towards Kalb and plunder them; so the loser will be the one who misses the day that Kalb are plundered.”  
(f. 190)

65) Walīd b. Muslim said that a traditionist told him: “The Mahdi, the Sufyānī and the people of Kalb would fight each other in Jerusalem when

the Sufyānī withdrew his pledge of obedience. He would be brought as a prisoner and when the command was given, he would be slaughtered at al-Rajāh Gate. Their women and booty would then be sold at the stairs of Damascus.”  
(f. 191)

66) Abū Bakr said that his shuyūkh told him that the Sufyānī is the one who will hand over the Caliphate to the Mahdi.  
(f. 193)

67) Ka‘b said, "He is named as the Mahdi because he guides to a hidden matter and brings forth the Taurāt and Injīl from a land known as Antākiya (Antioch)."  
(f. 195)

68) Nauf al-Bikālī said, "On the flag of the Mahdi is written, 'The Pledge is for Allāh'."  
(f. 195)

69) Ibn Sirīn said that he is asked, "Who is better: the Mahdi or Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (may Allah be pleased with them)?" He replies, "He is better than them and equal to a Prophet."  
(f. 195)

70) Maṭar said that ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul ‘Azīz was mentioned to him, so he said, "It is reported to us that the Mahdi will do something which ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul ‘Azīz could not do." We (the sub-narrators) said, "What is that?" He said, "A man will come to him asking (for money). He will say, 'Enter the *Bait al-Māl* (treasury) and take.' So he will enter and take, and then come out and find the people well-fed. So he will regret and come back to him and say, 'Take back what you gave to me.' But he will decline, saying, 'We are the ones who give but do not take.'"  
(f. 196)

71) Ka‘b said, "He is named the Mahdi because he will guide to the scriptures of Taurāt. He will bring them forth from the mountains of al-Shām and call the Jews to them, and of them a large number, about thirty thousand, will embrace Islām because of these books."  
(f. 196)



72) Qatāda reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said that he (the Mahdi) will bring out treasures, distribute the wealth and establish Islam totally.  
(f. 196)

73) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī said that the Messenger of Allāh said, "With him will be pleased the dwellers of Earth and the dwellers of Heaven. Any water which the sky will have, it will pour unstintingly, and any plant which the earth will have, it will bring it forth, so that eventually the living souls will envy the dead."  
(f. 196)

74) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "He will pour out a lot of money and not count it, and he will fill the earth with justice just as it had been filled with injustice and tyranny."  
(f. 196)

75) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "He will fill the earth with justice just as it had been filled with injustice and tyranny before him. He will rule for seven years."  
(f. 196)

76) Walīd said that he heard a man addressing a people saying, "There are three Mahdis: the Mahdi of righteousness, that is, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; the Mahdi of blood, that is, matters of blood are referred to him (for judgment); and the Mahdi of the religion, that is, 'Isā b. Maryam, peace be upon him. His *Umma* will embrace Islam in his times."

Walīd said, "It has reached me from Ka'b that the Mahdi of righteousness will appear after the Sufyānī."  
(f. 197)

77) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "There will be in my community the Mahdi, if for a short time, seven (years), otherwise nine. My community will then enjoy prosperity as they will have never enjoyed before. The earth will bring forth its fruit for them and will not hoard anything away from them. Money will at that time

be in heaps, and whenever a man will get up and say, 'O Mahdi, give me', he will say, 'Take'."  
(f. 197)

78) Sulaimān b. 'Īsā said, "It reached me that the *Tābūt* (chest) of tranquillity will appear from the lake of Tabariyya at the hand of the Mahdi. It will be carried to him and placed before him at Jerusalem. On seeing it, all the Jews will embrace Islām except a few of them. Then the Mahdi will die."  
(f. 198)

79) 'Alī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "The Mahdi is from us, the People of the House. Allāh will prepare him in one night."  
(f. 198)

80) Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "A man will come forth from my family after an interval of time and the appearance of civil wars (*fītan*), whose liberality will be in throwing about (money). He will be called *al-Saffāh* (the generous)."  
(f. 198)

81) Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "The Mahdi will have a bald forehead and an aquiline nose."  
(f. 199)

82) Ka'b said, "The Mahdi will be fifty-one or fifty-two years old."  
(f. 200)

83) 'Abdullāh b. al-Hārith said, "The Mahdi will appear when he is forty years old, as if he were a man of the Israelites."  
(f. 200)

84) Abū l-Tufail reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) described the Mahdi and mentioned that he is hard-tongued, that he will strike his left thigh with his right hand whenever he finds difficulty in speech, and that "his name is the same as mine and his father's name is the same as my father's."  
(f. 200)



85) 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, "The Mahdi's birthplace is Madīna, from among the house of the Prophet (SAS). His name is the same as my father's name. His place of migration is Jerusalem. He is thick-bearded, black-eyed, with shining teeth and a mole on his face, hooked-nosed, having a wide forehead and a sign on his shoulder. He will come out with the flag of the Prophet (SAS) made of a square, black-velveted garment having gems on it. It has not been hoisted since the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) died, nor will it be hoisted until the Mahdi comes forth. Allāh will help him with three thousand angels who will strike the faces and backs of his opponents. He will be commissioned while he is thirty to forty years old."  
(f. 201)

86) Arṭāt said, "The Mahdi will be sixty-years old."  
(f. 201)

87) 'Abdullāh reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "The Mahdi's name corresponds to my name; his father's name to my father's." He (the narrator) added, "I heard him more than once, not mentioning the name of his father."  
(f. 201)

88) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "He is a man from my family or (he said) from my household."  
(f. 202)

89) Ibn 'Abbās said, "The Mahdi is from us, a young man from our household." I (the narrator) said to him, "Your elders are unable to achieve (this merit) while your youth expect it." He responded, "Allāh does what he likes."  
(f. 202)

90) Ibn 'Abbās said, "The Mahdi is from us. He will give it (i.e. the rule) to 'Īsā b. Maryam, peace be upon him."  
(f. 202)

91) 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said that he asked the Messenger of Allāh, "Will the Mahdi be from us, - we, the Imāms of guidance - or from others?" He said, "No, but from us. The Religion will be sealed by us as it was started by us. With our help, the people will be saved from the error of *fitna* as they had been saved from the error of polytheism. Through us, Allāh will create love between their hearts in the manners of religion after a period

of enmity due to *fitna*., just as Allāh created love between their hearts regarding their religion after the enmity of polytheism."  
(f. 202)

92) Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "He is a man from my *Umma*.."   
(f. 203)

93) 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr, may Allāh be pleased with them, said, "A man from the offspring of Ḥusain will appear from the East. If the mountains were to confront him, he would crush them and dig passages through them."  
(f. 203)

94) Aflāt b. Ṣālih said that he asked Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya about the Mahdi. He replied, "Were he to appear, he would be from the posterity of 'Abd Shams."  
(f. 203)

95) Ḥasan was asked about the Mahdi. He replied, "I do not see any Mahdi. Were there to be one, it would be 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Azīz."  
(f. 203)

96) Ka'b said, "The Mahdi is from the posterity of 'Abbās."  
(f. 204)

97) Muḥammad said, "The Mahdi is the one of this *Umma* who will lead 'Īsā b. Maryam in prayer."  
(f. 204)

98) Ḥasan said, "The Mahdi is 'Īsā b. Maryam."  
(f. 205)

99) Ka'b said, "The Mahdi is from the posterity of Fāṭima .."  
(f. 204)

100) 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, "The Prophet has named Ḥasan a Master. Out of his posterity a man will appear whose name is that of your Prophet; he will fill the land with justice just as it had been filled with injustice."



(f. 204)

101) Ka'b said, "The Mahdi will come from the Quraish. The Caliphate will not continue except among them. Moreover, he will have his origin and family line in Yemen."

(f. 205)

102) Sālim said that Najda wrote to Ibn 'Abbās enquiring about the Mahdi. He replied that Allah guided this Ummah through the first one among the household and will save them through the last of them; during the latter's period, not even two goats, one horned and the other hornless, will strike each other. He also said, "There are two Mahdis from the tribe of Banū 'Abd Shams. One of them is 'Umar al-Ashajj."

(f. 205)

103) Artāt said, "The Mahdi will live for forty years."

(f. 205)

104) Abu Sa'īd al-Khudrī reported that the Prophet (SAS) said that the Mahdi will live for seven or eight or nine years after coming to rule.

(f. 205)

105) Damura b. Ḥabīb said, "The life of the Mahdi will last thirty years."

(f. 206)

106) Dīnār b. Dīnār said, "The Mahdi will live for forty years." One of them (the reporters) said "forty" once and "twenty-four" years another time.

Zuhri said that the Mahdi will live for fourteen years, after which he will die.

(f. 206)

107) Dīnār b. Dīnār said, "It reached me that on the death of the Mahdi, there will be great trouble among the people; they will start killing each other. Non-Arabs will dominate and the troubles will continue. There will be complete anarchy until the appearance of the Dajjāl."

(f. 206)

- 108) Abū Hurairah said, "The days and nights shall not pass until a man from Qaḥṭān leads the people."  
(f. 208)
- 109) Ka'b said, "On the hand of that Yemenite, the smaller event of Akka will occur, at a time when the fifth from the family of Heraclius would be ruling."  
(f. 209)
- 110) 'Abdullāh b. Ḥajjāj said that he heard 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saying, "After the tyrants will come al-Jābir, then al-Mahdi, then al-Manṣūr, then al-Salām, followed by the Amīr of the confederates. After that, whoever finds himself able to die, he should die."  
(f. 209)
- 111) Arṭāt said, "On the hand of this Yemenite Caliph and during his rule, Rūmiyya will be conquered."  
(f. 209)
- 112) Arṭāt said, "The Mahdi will come to Jerusalem. Then his successors from his family will rule for a long time. They will be tyrants until the people start praying for Banu 'Abbās and Banu Umayya in the face of their ill-treatment."  
Jarrāh said, "Their period is close to one year."  
(f. 211)
- 113) Abū Qābīl said, "No-one after the Mahdi, from among his household, shall rule justly among the people. So tyrannical will be their rule that people will start praying for Banu 'Abbās. They will say, 'Would that they (the 'Abbāsids) were in their place.' The people will be so until they invade Constantina with their ruler, a righteous man who will hand it over to 'Īsā b. Maryam. The people will have a prosperous life as long as the 'Abbasids do not break up; as soon as their rule breaks up, they will face troubles until the Mahdi arises."  
(f. 211)
- 114) Sulaimān b. 'Īsā, a very knowledgeable person in the matters of *Fitan* (troubles) said, "It reached me that the Mahdi will stay for fourteen at Jerusalem until his death. After him, there shall be a noble person from Tubba, known as Manṣūr, who will rule for twenty-one years in Jerusalem. Of this period, fifteen years will be of justice, three of injustice and three



will be (years) when the people will be deprived of money. Not a single dirham will be given to anyone. He will divide the *Ahl al-Dhimma* (non-Muslims under pledge) among his fighters. He will exile the free slaves to the extreme depth of al-A'maq, and trample on the offspring of Ismā'il as the cow tramples on the ground. Against him will arise a free slave, with a name similar to that of a prophet and a nickname similar to that of a prophet. Arising from al-A'maq, he will meet al-Manṣūr at Arīḥa (Jericho) and fight him until he kills him. Then the free slave will rule. He will exile the offspring of Qaḥṭān and those of Ismā'il to the two cities of treasures of the 'Arabs: Madīna and San'ā. Against him will rise the Turks and the Romans until they conquer the territory between Antākiya and Mount Karbal in Palestine, at the meadows of the city of Akka. The free slave will be killed after three years' rule. After him, Him will rule, the second Mahdi: the one who will fight the Romans and defeat them and conquer Constantina. He will stay there for three years, four months and ten days. Then 'Īsā b. Maryam will descend. So he will hand over the rule to him." (f. 215)

115) 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr said, "After the Mahdi shall come one who will exile the Yemenites to their land. After him will be Manṣūr, followed by the Mahdi, at whose hand the Roman city will be conquered." (f. 216)

116) The Prophet said, "The Qaḥṭānī will be after the Mahdi. By the One Who sent me with the Truth, he is no less than him." (f. 217)

117) Arṭāt said, "At the hand of this Yemenite Caliph, the invasion of India will occur, as mentioned by Abū Huraira." (f. 219)

118) Ibn 'Abbās said, when the people mentioned to him the twelve Caliphs followed by the Amīr, "By Allāh, we have brought out after that al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdi, who would give it (i.e. the rule) to 'Īsā b. Maryam." (f. 219)

119) Arṭāt said that it reached him that the Mahdi will live for forty years. Then he will die in his bed. Then a man from Qaḥṭān with pierced ears will arise. He will follow in the footsteps of the Mahdi and live for twenty years, but will be killed by a weapon. Then another man, from the household of the Prophet, will arise. He will be guided (*mahdī*) and have a

good character. He will conquer the city of Caesar (Qaisar). He will be the last ruler (*Amīr*) in the Umma . of Muḥammad. During his period, the Impostor (Dajjāl) will arise and ‘Īsā b. Maryam will descend.”  
(f. 221)

120) The Prophet said, "A people of my Umma . will invade India. Allāh shall bring victory at their hands until they bring back the kings of India chained in iron. Allāh will forgive their sins. They will come to al-Shām (Syria), where they will find ‘Īsā b. Maryam. (SAS)."  
(f. 225)

121) Jābir b. Samura said that he heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, "This religion will remain strong until twelve caliphs have ruled over you; upon each one of them, the Umma . will agree."  
(Jābir added:) Then I heard some words from the Prophet (SAW) which I could not understand, so I asked my father what he was saying. He said, "Every one of them will be from the Quraish."

(Nu'aim, f. 40

Abū Dāwūd, 6:4110.

Ṭabarāni, 2:1791, 1801, 1849, 1852, 1896, 2007, 2011, 2044.)

121-a) Jābir b. Samura said that he heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, "This religion will remain in existence until twelve caliphs (have ruled)." He (Jābir) said, "The people shouted, 'Allāhu Akbar' and clamoured (aloud). Then he said a quiet word. I said to my father, 'O father, what did he say?' He replied, 'Every one of them will be from the Quraish'."

(Nu'aim, f. 40

Abū Dāwūd, 6:4111

Muslim, 3:1452)

121-b) Jābir b. Samura reported the aforesaid ḥadīth and added, "When he came back to his house, the Quraish came to him and said, 'What will happen (after that time) ?' He said, 'Then there will be turmoil'."

(Nu'aim, f. 40

Abū Dāwūd, 6:4112)

122) Abū Umāma reported that the Messenger of Allāh delivered a sermon. He mentioned the Dajjāl (Anti-Christ) and said, "Madīna will expel the dirt as the bellow expels dirt from iron. That day will be known as the day of salvation." Umm Sharīk said, "Where will the Arabs be that



day, O Messenger of Allāh ?” He said, “That day they will be few. Most of them will be at Jerusalem. Their Imām, the Mahdi, will be a pious man.”

(Nu‘aim, f. 319

Abū Nu‘aim, cf. Suyūṭī: *Al-Ḥāwī*, 2:135)

## CHAPTER THREE

### AHĀDĪTH OF LATER TRADITIONISTS

Several later traditionists also transmitted aḥādīth about the Mahdi with their own asānīd; a selection of aḥādīth from *al-Musnad* of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī (d. 228), *al-Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shaiba (d. 235), *al-Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), *al-Sunan* of Ibn Māja (d. 273), *al-Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275), *al-Sunan* of Tirmidhī (d. 279), *al-Musnad* of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma (d. 282), *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* of Ṭabarānī (d. 360) and *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā* of Abū Nu‘aim al-Isbahānī (d. 430) is translated below; these aḥādīth deal with issues not covered in the previous sections.

1) ‘Alī reported that the Prophet (SAS) said, "Were there not but a (single) day left of Time, Allāh would send a man from my household to fill it (the earth) with justice, as it had been filled with tyranny.

(Abū Dāwūd, 6:4114  
Aḥmad, 1:448  
Tirmidhī, 6:2231-2)

2) Hilāl b. ‘Amr said that he heard ‘Alī (may Allāh bless his face), saying that the Prophet said, "A man known as al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥarrān will come out from beyond the River (i.e. Transoxiana), heralded by a man called Manṣūr who will pave the way for the family of Muḥammad as the Quraish established it for the Messenger of Allāh (SAS). It is a duty upon every believer to help him or answer (his call)."

(Abū Dāwūd, 6:4122)

3) ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Jāz al-Zubaidī reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "People will come from the East and pave the way for the (rule of the) Mahdi."

(Ibn Māja, 2:1368)



4) Anas b. Mālik reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "This matter will not grow but adversely, this world but regressively, and the people but niggardly; the Hour will not be established except on the wicked people; and there is no Mahdī except 'Īsā b. Maryam."

(Ibn Māja, 2:1340-1)

5) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Auf said that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "Allāh will certainly send from my offspring a man, having parted teeth and a wide forehead, who will fill the earth with justice. During his times, wealth will overflow."

(Abū Nu'aim, cf. Suyūṭī: *al-Ḥāwī*, 2:220)

6) Abū Huraira reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "The Hour will not occur until a man from my household rules. He will conquer Constantinople and the mount of Dailum. Were there not but a (single) day remaining, Allāh would prolong that day until he conquers it."

(Al-Ḥimmānī, cf. Ibn Qayyim: *Al-Manār*, p.147)

7) Abū Sa'id reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "From us will be the one behind whom 'Īsā b. Maryam will pray."

(Abū Nu'aim, cf. Suyūṭī: *Al-Ḥāwī*, 2:222 and *Al-Manār*, p. 147)

8) Jābir reported that the Messenger of Allāh (SAS) said, "'Īsā b. Maryam will descend (among the people). So their leader, the Mahdi, will say, 'Come and lead us in the prayer'. He will reply, 'No; some are leaders of others' - a token of honour from Allāh for this Umma .."

(Al-Ḥārith, cf. *Al-Manār*, p. 147)

9) Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī reported that the Messenger of Allāh said, "A man from my household will emerge and practise my Sunnah. Allāh will shower blessings from heaven upon him, and the earth will bring forth its blessings for him. He will fill the earth with justice, as it had been filled with tyranny. He will stay for seven years among this Umma and will come to the Sacred House (at Jerusalem)."

(Abū Nu'aim, cf. Suyūṭī: *Al-Ḥāwī*, 2:219

Tabarānī: *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, 2:47

cf. Haithamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id*, 7:317)

10) ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās reported that the Messenger of Allāh said, "That Umma . shall not perish which has myself at its beginning, ‘Īsā b. Maryam at its end, and the Mahdi in its middle."

(Abū Nu‘aim, cf. Suyūṭī: *Al-Ḥāwī*, 2:222)

11) One of the Companions of the Prophet (SAS) said, "The Mahdi will not come out until al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is killed; when al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is killed, everyone in the heaven and the earth will be angry with them (his killers). Then the people will come to the Mahdi and escort him as the bride is escorted to her groom. He will fill the earth with equity and justice; the earth will bring forth its shoots; the sky will rain and my people will be comfortable during his reign, in a way which they would never have experienced before."

(Ibn Abī Shaibah, 15:19499)



## CHAPTER FOUR

### The picture of the Mahdi in the light of ahādīth collected by the end of the third century

From the vast amount of information in the preceding pages, the prominent features of the Mahdi which emerge are listed below. Since the criterion for authenticity of each narration is its isnad, discussion on the historical aspects of these reports will be done after the analysis of the asanid, in Chapter Five, Part Two, and in the Conclusion.

#### A. Events preceding the advent of the Mahdi

- 1) The Mahdi will appear after the decline of Banū ‘Abbās.
- 2) The Mahdi will appear after the death of the seventh from among the Household of the Prophet.
- 3) A star with a shining tail will appear before the Mahdi.
- 4) The sun will eclipse twice during the month of Ramaḍān before the appearance of the Mahdi.
- 5) Before the Mahdi, three will be killed, three will die and three will live.
- 6) Al-Nafs al-Zakiyya will be killed before the Mahdi appears.
- 7) People with black flags will come out from the east and pave the way for the Mahdi's rule.
- 8) The man who will establish the rule for the Mahdi is called Manṣūr. He will be the commander of an army sent by Ḥārith from *mā warā’ al-nahr* (i.e. the land beyond the river: Transoxiana).
- 9) Even if only one day or night were left of this world, Allāh will prolong that day to enable him to appear.

## **B. About the Mahdi's lineage and physique**

1.     a) His name will be Muḥammad and his father's name ʿAbdullāh, similar to the names of the Prophet and his father.  
       b) The Mahdi is none but ʿĪsā, the son of Maryam.
2.     a) He will come from the family of Ḥasan, the son of Fāṭima. Hence he will belong to the household of the Prophet.  
       b) He will stem from the family of ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet.  
       c) According to Ibn ʿAbbas, the Mahdi will be from his family.  
       d) The Mahdi will be from the family of Ḥusain.
3. He will be prepared in a single night.
4. He will be of a wide forehead and high nose.

## **C. Events related to Sufyānī and the black flags**

- 1) There will be seventy-two days between the march of black flags from Khurāsān with Shuʿaib b. Ṣāliḥ and the appearance of the Mahdi and his dominance as a ruler.
- 2) A man from Banū Hāshim will slay the Banū Umayya, leaving only a few of them. Then a man from Banū Umayya will kill two in revenge for every one of them until no-one will be left except the women. Then the Mahdi will come.
- 3) Sufyānī will appear in the year 37.
- 4) Sufyānī will stay four months in Egypt and kill its people ruthlessly.
- 5) Sufyānī will stay at Kūfa for three days and kill sixty thousand of them.
- 6) Black flags of Banū ʿAbbās will come out. Similar flags will come out from Khurāsān with people having black caps and clad in white, headed by a man called Shuʿaib b. Ṣāliḥ or Ṣāliḥ b. Shuʿaib from the tribe of Tamim. They will defeat the people of Sufyānī, and then reach Jerusalem to pave the way for the Mahdi, who will be helped by three thousand Syrians. There will be seventy-



two months between Sufyānī's appearance and the establishment of the Mahdi's rule.

7) Sufyānī will ask his warriors in Kūfa to set out for Madīna. They will massacre more than four hundred Anṣār of Madīna. Two persons, a man named Muḥammad and his sister Fāṭima, will be killed and hanged at the door of the Mosque of Madīna. Among those killed will be *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*.

8) At the killing of *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*, a caller will announce from the heaven, "Your Amir is so-and-so", i.e. the Mahdi who will fill the earth with equity and justice.

9) When Sufyānī and Mahdi meet to fight, a cry will be heard from the heaven, "The friends of Allāh are the people of so-and-so", i.e. the Mahdi. A hand will be seen protruding from the heaven.

10) The contingent sent by Sufyānī to fight the Mahdi will sink at al-Baidā' (an area of desert between Makkah and Madīna). Their number will be twelve thousand.

11) The Mahdi will meet Sufyānī in Syria, where the latter will pledge his allegiance to the former and hand over the khilāfa to him.

#### D. Events related to the Mahdi's life

1) Madīna will be the birthplace of the Mahdi. He will belong to the house of the Prophet, and his name will be similar to his father's name. Jerusalem will be his destination on emigration. He will have a thick beard, black eyes, shining teeth, and have a mole on his face. He will be high of nose and wide of forehead, and have the sign of the Prophet on his shoulder. He will come out with the flag of the Prophet which is black, quadrant-strafed, made of velvet, and contains a stone in it. It will not be unwrapped from the time of the death of the Prophet until the advent of the Mahdi, who will be supported by three thousand angels. The Mahdi will be thirty to forty years old at the time of his appearance.

2 a) An announcer from the heaven will say, "The right belongs to the family of Muḥammad SAWs". Another from the earth will say, "The right is with the family of 'Īsā (or 'Abbās.)" The lower cry is from Satan who will try to create suspicion among the people."

b) The cry from the heaven would be in the month of Muḥarram.

- 3) He will come to Makka, fleeing from Madīna.
- 4) The people will perform Ḥajj without an Imām. At Minā they will start fighting each other until they come to the best of them: a man leaning his face on the wall of the Kaʿba. they will declare him as their ruler and will give their pledge to him. He will be the Mahdi.
- 5) At the request of the people, he will come out from his house unwillingly.
- 6) They will give him their pledge at the Kaʿba, between the Pillar and the Station.
- 7) At the time of his appearance, the Mahdi will be forty or fifty-one or fifty-two years old.
- 8) Abdāl of Syria and nobles of Iraq will be at his side.
- 9) The supporters of the Mahdi, three hundred and thirteen in number, will be from Syria.
- 10) A contingent from Syria (al-Shām) will come to invade but will sink into the desert between Makka and Madīna.
- 11) A Quraishi having in-laws from the tribe of Kalb will attack him, but will be defeated, and the war-booty will be distributed among the followers of the Mahdi.
- 12) The army of the Mahdi will be around twelve or fifteen thousand in number.
- 13) The slogan on the flag of the Mahdi will be "The Pledge is for Allāh."
- 14) Allāh will give him victory over the land of Ḥijāz, Kūfa, Constantinople and a number of other places.
- 15) The Mahdi will send his forces against the Turks and conquer them. Then he will turn to al-Shām, eventually to enter Jerusalem.
- 16) During his encounters with the Romans, the Mahdi will discover the Taurāt and the Injīl in the Ark (Tābūt) of Tranquillity, found in a cave in Antioch. Then he will judge among Jews and Christians according to their books.
- 17) On the discovery of the Taurāt, a great number of Jews, as many as thirty thousand, will embrace Islām.

18) The Ark (*Tābūt*) of Tranquillity will come out from Lake Ṭabariyya. Eventually it will be placed before the Mahdi at Jerusalem. A great number of Jews will embrace Islam at the sight of the Tābūt. Later, the Mahdi will die.

19) A king of Jerusalem will send an army to India which would conquer it and bring forth its treasures, with which Jerusalem would be ornamented. The Kings of Yemen will be brought to him in chains. That army will stay in India until the appearance of the Dajjāl.

20) The Mahdi will live for thirty years or forty years.

21) The Mahdi will rule for seven or eight or nine years.

22) He will rule for fourteen years.

23) Wealth will be abundant in his times; he will give it to people without counting.

24) He will fill the earth with equity and justice.

25) Everyone in the heaven and the earth will be pleased with him.

26) The sky will rain heavily and the earth will produce abundantly.

27) He will visit Jerusalem.

28) ‘Isā b. Maryam will pray behind him.

29) On his death, the Muslims will pray for him.



# **PART TWO**

**ANALYSIS OF THE AḤĀDĪTH ON *FITAN***

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN PART TWO

Books related to Ḥadīth belong to two categories:

### 1. Collections of ahādīth

Each ḥadīth is preceded by an isnād consisting of a number of reporters. The first one among them is the collector himself who goes back to an earlier authority such as a Successor, Companion or the Prophet himself through his shaikh (teacher). To find out which ḥadīth is authentic and which one is not, the books in the second category provide the necessary material:

### 2. Books of Rijāl

These books provide either brief or exhaustive studies about the reporters of Ḥadīth, especially of the first three centuries during which the knowledge of Ḥadīth reached its summit. Under each name, a host of remarks by prominent traditionists, either authenticating the reporter or disparaging him, are recorded. The study of such remarks, along with the dates of birth and death of each reporter, are usually vital in arriving at a verdict regarding the authenticity of a particular ḥadīth.

In the following chapters, and particularly the first one, frequent references are given to books of both of the above categories. In order to avoid repetition of the names of traditionists and titles, the following abbreviation scheme has been used by the author:

*The first letter, or occasionally first two letters in a three-letter abbreviation, indicate the name of the author, while the second letter, or last two letters, specifies the title of the book. The letter "S" at the end of an abbreviation mostly stands for Ṣaḥīḥ or Sunan whereas "D" always stands for Da'if.*

AHK	Ibn Abī Ḥātim: <i>Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl</i>
AHL	Ibn Abī Ḥātim: <i>Kitāb al-'Ilal</i>
AM	Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal: <i>al-Musnad</i>
AQM	'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām: <i>al-Muṣannaf</i>

BA	al-Bukhārī: <i>al-Adab al-Mufrad</i>
BD	al-Bukhārī: <i>al-Du'afā al-Ṣaghīr</i>
BQS	al-Baihaqī: <i>al-Sunan</i>
BS	al-Bukhārī: <i>al-Ṣaḥīḥ</i>
BTK	al-Bukhārī: <i>al-Tārikh al-Kabīr</i>
BTS	al-Bukhārī: <i>al-Tārikh al-Ṣaghīr</i>

DAS	al-Dārimī: <i>al-Sunan</i>
DHD	al-Dhahabī: <i>al-Mughnī fī al-Du'afā</i>
DHH	al-Dhahabī: <i>Tadhkira al-Huffāz</i>
DHK	al-Dhahabī: <i>al-Kāshif</i>
DHM	al-Dhahabī: <i>Mizān al-I'tidāl</i>
DHN	al-Dhahabī: <i>Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā</i>
DHT	al-Dhahabī: <i>Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak</i>
DQT	al-Dāraquṭnī: <i>al-Du'afā wa al-Matrūkūn</i>
DQS	al-Dāraquṭnī: <i>al-Sunan</i>

DS	Abū Dāwūd: <i>al-Sunan</i>
DSA	Al-‘Azīm Ābādī: <i>‘Aun al-Ma‘būd Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd</i>
HMK	al-Ḥākim: <i>al-Mustadrak</i>
HIS	Ibn Ḥajar: <i>al-Iṣāba fī Tamyīz Asmā al-Ṣaḥāba</i>
HL	Ibn Ḥajar: <i>Lisān al-Mizān</i>
HTH	Ibn Ḥajar: <i>Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb</i>
HTM	Ibn Ḥajar: <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn</i>
HTQ	Ibn Ḥajar: <i>Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb</i>
IAD	Ibn ‘Adī: <i>al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu‘āfa</i>
IHD	Ibn Ḥibbān: <i>Kitāb al-Majrūhīn</i>
IJK	Ibn al-Jauzī: <i>Kitāb al-Mawḍū‘āt</i>
IJL	Ibn al-Jauzī: <i>Kitāb al-‘Ilal al-Mutanāhiya</i>
IRL	Ibn Rajab: <i>Sharḥ ‘Ilal al-Tirmidhī</i>
JS	Ibn Māja: <i>al-Sunan</i>
KT	al-Khaṭīb: <i>Tārīkh Baghdād</i>
KZK	al-Khazraǧī: <i>al-Khulāṣa</i>
LJS	al-Albānī: <i>Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīr</i>
LJD	al-Albānī: <i>Da‘īf al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīr</i>
LMS	al-Albānī: <i>Notes on Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ</i>
LSS	al-Albānī: <i>Silsila al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥa</i>
LSD	al-Albānī: <i>Silsila al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa‘īfa</i>
MS	Muslim: <i>al-Ṣaḥīḥ</i>
MSN	al-Nawawī: <i>Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim</i>
MT	Mālik: <i>al-Mu‘aṭṭā</i>
MTB	Muḥammad b. Sa‘d: <i>al-Ṭabaqāt</i>
ND	al-Nasā’ī: <i>Kitāb al-Ḍu‘afā wa al-Matrūkīn</i>
NS	al-Nasā’ī: <i>al-Sunan</i>
NKF	Nu‘am b. Hammād: <i>Kitāb al-Fitan</i>
SHM	Ibn Abī Shaiba: <i>al-Muṣannaf</i>
SH	al-Suyūṭī: <i>al-Ḥāwī li l-Fatāwī</i>
SJ	al-Suyūṭī: <i>al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīr</i>
ST	al-Suyūṭī: <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz</i>
TS	al-Tirmidhī: <i>al-Sunan</i>
TMS	al-Ṭabarānī: <i>al-Mu‘jam al-Ṣaḥīr</i>
TMK	al-Ṭabarānī: <i>al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr</i>

\*\*\*



# CHAPTER ONE

## RULES GOVERNING THE CRITICISM OF ḤADĪTH

### SECTION A

#### INTRODUCTION

A *ḥadīth* (pl. *aḥādīth*) is composed of two parts: the *matn* (text) and the *isnād* (chain of reporters). A text may seem to be logical and reasonable but it needs an authentic isnād with reliable reporters to be acceptable; ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181 AH) is reported to have said, "The *isnād* is part of the religion: had it not been for the *isnād*, whoever wished to would have said whatever he liked."<sup>1</sup>

During the lifetime of the Prophet (SAS) and after his death, his Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*) used to refer to him when quoting his sayings. The Successors (*Tābi‘ūn*) followed suit; some of them used to quote the Prophet (SAS) through the Companions while others would omit the intermediate authority - such a ḥadīth was known as *mursal* (loose). It was found that the missing link between the Successor and the Prophet (SAS) might be one person, i.e. a Companion, or two persons, the extra person being an older Successor who heard the ḥadīth from the Companion. This is an example of how the need for the verification of each isnād arose. Mālik (d. 179) said, "The first one to utilise the *isnād* was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī"<sup>2</sup> (d. 124 AH).

#### *Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* and *Rijāl*

As time passed, more reporters were involved in each isnād, and so the situation demanded strict discipline in the acceptance of aḥādīth; the rules regulating this discipline are known as *Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* (the Science of Ḥadīth).

*Muṣṭalaḥ* books speak of a number of classes of ḥadīth in accordance with their status. The following classifications can be made, each of which is explained later:

1. According to the reference to a particular authority, e.g. the Prophet

(SAS), a Companion, or a Successor; such ahādīth are called *marfū'* (elevated), *mauqūf* (delayed) and *maqtū'* (severed) respectively .

2. According to the nature of the chain of reporters, i.e. whether interrupted or uninterrupted, e.g. *musnad* (supported), *muttaṣil* (continuous), *munqaṭi'* (broken), *mu'allaq* (suspended), *mu'dal* (perplexing) and *mursal* (loose).

3. According to the number of reporters involved in each isnad, e.g. *mutawātir* (consecutive) and *āḥād* (isolated), the latter being divided into *gharīb* (rare), *'azīz* (scarce), and *mash-hūr* (widespread) .

4. According to the way in which a saying has been reported such as using the words *'an* ( عَنْ - "on the authority of"), *ḥaddathanā* ( حَدَّثَنَا - "he narrated to us"), *akhbaranā* ( أَخْبَرَنَا - "he informed us") or *sami'tu* ( سَمِعْتُ - "I heard"). In this category falls the discussion about *mudallas* (concealed) and *musalsal* (connected) ahadith.

5. According to the nature of the matn and isnād, e.g. an addition by a reliable reporter, known as *ziyādaṭu thiqa*, or opposition by a lesser authority to a more reliable one, known as *shādh* (aloof). In some cases a text containing a vulgar expression, unreasonable remark or an apparently erroneous statement is rejected by the traditionists outright without consideration of the isnād. Such a ḥadīth is known as *munkar* (denounced). If an expression or statement is proved to be an addition by a reporter to the text, it is declared as *mudraj* (added).

6. According to a hidden defect found in the isnād or text of a ḥadīth. Although it could be included in some of the previous categories, *ḥadīth mu'allal* (defective hadith) is worthy to be explained separately. The defect can be caused in many ways; e.g. two types of *ḥadīth mu'allal* are known as *maqlūb* (overturned) and *muḍṭarib* (shaky).

7. According to the reliability and memory of the reporters; the final verdict on a ḥadīth depends mainly on this classification: verdicts such as *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound), *ḥasan* (good), *ḍa'īf* (weak) and *mauḍū'* (fabricated) rest mainly upon the nature of the reporters in the isnād.

*Muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth* is strongly associated with *Rijāl al-ḥadīth* (the study of the reporters of ḥadīth). In scrutinising the reporters of a ḥadīth, authenticating or disparaging remarks made by recognised experts, whether among the Successors or those after them, were found to be of great help. The earliest remarks cited in the books of *Rijāl* go back to a host of Successors and those after during the first three centuries of Islām. A list of such names is provided by the author in his thesis, *Criticism of Ḥadith among Muslims with reference*



to *Sunan Ibn Māja*, at the end of chapters IV, V and VI. Among the earliest available works in this field are *Tārīkh* of Ibn Ma'īn (d. 233), *Ṭabaqāt* of Khalīfa b. Khayyāt (d. 240), *Tārīkh* of Bukhārī (d. 256), *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl* of Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327) and *Ṭabaqāt* of Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī (d. 320).

A number of traditionists made efforts specifically for the gathering of information about the reporters of the five famous collections of hadith: those of Bukhari (d. 256), Muslim (d. 261), Abu Dawud (d. 275), Tirmidhi (d. 279) and Nasa'i (d. 303), giving authenticating and disparaging remarks in detail. The first major such work to include also the reporters of Ibn Maja (d. 273) is the ten-volume collection of al-Hafiz 'Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi (d. 600), known as *Al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*. Later, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hajjāj Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mizzī (d. 742) prepared an edited and abridged version of this work, but made a number of additions and punctuation of the names, by names, places and countries of origin of the reporters. He named it *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl* and produced it in twelve volumes. Further, one of al-Mizzī's gifted pupils, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Qa'imaz al-Dhahabī (d. 748), summarised his shaikh's work and produced two abridgements: a longer one called *Tadh-hīb al-Tahdhīb* and a shorter one called *Al-Kāshif fī Asmā' Rijāl al-Kutub al-Sitta*.

A similar effort with the work of Mizzī was made by Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852), who prepared a lengthy but abridged version, with about one-third of the original omitted, entitled *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* in twelve shorter volumes. Later, he abridged this further to a relatively humble two-volume work called *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*.

The work of Dhahabī was not left unedited; Khazrajī (Saif al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh, d. after 923) summarised it and also made valuable additions, producing his *Khulāṣa*.

A number of similar works deal with either trustworthy authorities, e.g. *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* by 'Ijlī (d. 261) and *Tadhkira al-Ḥuffāz* by Dhahabī, or with disparaged authorities, e.g. *Kitāb al-Du'afā' wa al-Matrūkīn* by Nasā'ī and *Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn* by Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī (d. 354).

Two more works in this field, which include a large number of reporters, both authenticated and disparaged, are *Mizān al-l'tidāl* of Dhahabī and *Lisān al-Mizān* of Ibn Ḥajar.



## SECTION B

### THE CLASSIFICATION OF ḤADĪTH

#### 1. According to the reference to a particular authority.

The following principal types of ḥadīth are important:

*Marfū'*: A ḥadīth referred back to the Prophet, e.g. a reporter (whether a Companion, Successor or other) says, "The Messenger of Allāh said ..."

*Mauqūf*: A ḥadīth referred back to a Companion, e.g. "Ibn 'Abbās said ...", without being attributed to the Prophet.

*Maqtū'*: A ḥadīth referred back to a Successor, e.g. "Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said ..."

The authenticity of each of these three types of ḥadīth depends on other factors such as the reliability of its reporters, the nature of linkage among them, etc. However, the above classification is extremely useful since through it the sayings of the Prophet can be distinguished at once from those of Companions or Successors; this is especially helpful in debate in matters of *fiqh*.

Imām Mālik's *al-Muwattā'*, one of the early collections of ḥadīth, contains a relatively even ratio of these types of ḥadīth, as well as *mursal* aḥādīth (which are discussed below). According to Abū Bakr al-Abharī (d. 375), *al-Muwattā'* contains the following:

600 *marfū'* aḥādīth,  
613 *mauqūf* aḥādīth,  
285 *maqtū'* aḥādīth, and  
228 *mursal* aḥādīth; a total of 1726 aḥādīth.<sup>3</sup>

Among other collections, relatively more *mauqūf* and *maqtū'* aḥādīth are found in *al-Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shaiba (d. 235), *al-Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211) and the *Tafsīrs* of Ibn Jarīr (d. 310), Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327) and Ibn al-Mundhir (d. 319).<sup>4</sup>

2. According to the link found among the reporters; the following categories fall under this heading:

### Musnad

... Hākim defines it as follows:

"A ḥadīth which a traditionist reports from his shaikh from whom he is known to have heard (aḥādīth) at a time of life suitable for learning, and similarly in turn for each shaikh, until the isnād reaches a well-known Companion who<sup>n</sup> reports from the Prophet."<sup>5</sup>

By this definition, an ordinary *muttaṣil* ḥadīth (i.e. one with an uninterrupted isnād) is excluded if it goes back only to a Companion or Successor, as is a *marfūʿ* ḥadīth which has an interrupted isnād.

... Hākim gave the following example of a *musnad* ḥadīth:

We reported from Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad al-Sammāk al-Baghdādī === Al-Ḥasan b. Mukarram === ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr === Yūnus --- al-Zuhri --- ʿAbdullāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik --- his father, who asked Ibn Abī Hadrād for payment of a debt he owed to him, in the mosque. During the argument, their voices were raised until heard by the Messenger of Allāh who eventually lifted the curtain of his apartment and said, "O Kaʿb! Write off a part of your debt." He meant remission of half of it. So he agreed and the man paid him.

... Hākim then remarks,

"Now, my hearing from Ibn al-Simāk is well-known, as is his from Ibn Mukarram. ... Ḥasan's link with ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr and the latter's with Yūnus b. Zaid are known as well. Yūnus is always remembered with ... Zuhri, and the latter with the sons of Kaʿb b. Mālik, whose link to their father and his companionship of the Prophet are well-established."<sup>6</sup>

The term *musnad* is applied also to those collections of aḥādīth which give the aḥādīth of each Companion separately. Among the early compilers of such a *Musnad* were Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Ḥimmānī (d. 228) at Kūfa and Musaddad b. Musarhad (d. 228) at Baṣra.<sup>7</sup> The largest existing collection of aḥādīth of Companions arranged in this manner is that of Imām Aḥmad b.

Ḥanbal (d. 241), which contains around thirty thousand aḥādīth. Another larger work is attributed to the famous Andalusian traditionist Baqī b. Maḥlad al-Qurṭubī (d. 276), but unfortunately it is now untraceable.

### Mursal, Munqaṭi', Mu'dal, and Mu'allaq aḥādīth

If the link between the Successor and the Prophet is missing, the ḥadīth is *mursal*. In other words, when a Successor says, "The Prophet said ...".

However, if a link anywhere before the Successor (i.e. closer to the traditionist recording the ḥadīth) is missing, the ḥadīth is *munqaṭi'*. This applies even if there is an apparent link, e.g. a reporter says, "A shaikh or a man reported to me ..." without naming this authority, or when an isnād is apparently *muttaṣil* (uninterrupted) but in reality a reporter is found not to have heard from his shaikh.

If the number of missing reporters in the isnād exceeds one, the isnād is *mu'dal*. If the reporter omits the whole isnād and quotes the Prophet directly (i.e. the link is missing at the beginning, unlike the case with a *mursal* isnād), the ḥadīth is called *mu'allaq* (hanging); sometimes it is known as *balāghat*. For example, Mālik says, "It reached me that the Messenger of Allāh said ..."

### Authenticity of the Mursal Ḥadīth

There has been a great deal of discussion regarding the authenticity of the *Mursal* Ḥadīth, since it is quite probable that a Successor might have omitted two names, those of an elder Successor and a Companion, rather than just one name, that of a Companion.

If the Successor is known to have omitted the name of a Companion only, then the ḥadīth is held to be authentic, for a Successor can only report from the Prophet through a Companion; the omission of the name of the Companion does not affect the authenticity of the isnād since all Companions are held to be trustworthy and reliable, both by Qur'ānic injunctions and sayings of the Prophet.

However, opinions vary in the case where the Successor might have omitted the names of two authorities:

(i) The *Marāsīl* of elder Successors such as Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ are acceptable because all their *Marāsīl*, after investigation, are found to come through the Companions only. However, the *Marāsīl* of younger Successors are only acceptable if the names of their immediate authorities are known through different sources; if not, they are rejected



outright.

(ii) The *Marāsīl* of Successors and those who report from them are acceptable without any investigation at all. This opinion is strongly supported by the Kūfī school of traditionists.

To be precise in this issue, let us investigate in detail the various opinions regarding the *Mursal* Ḥadīth:

1) Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463) says that the opinion held by Imām Mālik and all jurists of their school is that the *Mursal* of a trustworthy person is valid as proof and as justification for a practice, just like a *musnad* ḥadīth.<sup>8</sup>

To some jurists, such as the Mālikiyya, the *Mursal* is better than the *Musnad*. Their reasoning is as follows:

"the one who reports a *musnad* ḥadīth leaves you with the names of the reporters for further investigation and scrutiny, while the one who narrates by way of *Irsāl*, being a knowledgeable and trustworthy person himself, has already done so and the ḥadīth is sound. In fact, he saves you from further research."<sup>9</sup>

2) Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150) holds the same opinion as Mālik; he accepts the *Mursal* Ḥadīth whether or not it is supported by another ḥadīth.<sup>10</sup>

3) ... Shāfi‘ī (d. 204) has discussed this issue in detail in his *al-Risāla*; he requires the following conditions to be met before accepting a *mursal* ḥadīth:

(i) In the narrative, he requires that one of the following conditions be met:

- a) that it be reported also as *musnad* through another isnād;
- b) that its contents be reported as *mursal* through another reliable source with a different isnād;
- c) that the meaning be supported by the sayings of some Companions; or
- d) that most scholars hold the same opinion as conveyed by the *mursal* ḥadīth.

(ii) Regarding the narrator, he requires that one of the following conditions be met:

- a) he be an elder Successor;
- b) if he names the missing person in the isnād, he does not usually name an unknown person or someone not suitable for reporting from acceptably; or
- c) he does not contradict a reliable person when he happens to share with him in a narration.<sup>11</sup>

On the basis of these arguments, al-Shāfi'ī accepts the *Irsāl* of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, one of the elder Successors. For example, ... Shāfi'ī considers the issue of selling meat in exchange for a living animal. He says that Mālik told him, reporting from Zaid b. Aslam, who reported from Ibn al-Musayyab that the Messenger of Allāh forbade the selling of meat in exchange for an animal. He then says, "This is our opinion, for the *Irsāl* of Ibn al-Musayyib is sound."<sup>12</sup>

4) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), according to Ibn Qayyim, accepts *mursal* and *da'if* aḥādīth if nothing opposing them is found in a particular issue, preferring them to analogy.<sup>13</sup> He classifies aḥādīth into *ṣaḥīḥ* and *da'if* only rather into *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan* and *da'if*, the preference of most later traditionists. Consequently, a *da'if* hadith may stand close to *ṣaḥīḥ* in the opinion of Aḥmad because of the grading of the *Mursal* Ḥadīth in fourth position, unlike Mālik who regards *mursal* as equal to *musnad*.

5) Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456) rejects the *Mursal* Ḥadīth outright; he says that the *Mursal* is unacceptable, whether it comes through Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib or al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. To him, even the *Mursal* of a Companion who was not well-known among the Companions is unacceptable.<sup>14</sup>

6) Abū Dāwūd (d. 275) accepts the *Mursal* with two conditions:  
a) that no *musnad* ḥadīth is found regarding that issue; and  
b) that if a *musnad* ḥadīth is found, it is not contradicted by the *mursal* ḥadīth.<sup>15</sup>

7) Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327) does not give a specific opinion about the *Mursal* Ḥadīth. However, he did collect an anthology of 469 reporters of ḥadīth, including four female reporters, whose narratives were subjected to criticism due to *Irsāl*. This collection is known as *Kitāb al-Marāsīl*.

8) Ḥākim (d. 405) is extremely reluctant to accept the *Mursal* except in the case of elder Successors. He holds, on the basis of the Qur'ān, that knowledge is based on what is heard and not on what is reported. In this regard, he quotes Yazīd b. Hārūn who asked Ḥammād b. Laith:

"O Abū Ismā'il! Did Allāh mention the people of Ḥadīth in the Qur'ān?" He replied, "Yes! Did you not hear the saying of Allāh,

فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِنْ كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ طَائِفَةٌ لِيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ  
إِذَا رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ (التوبة: ١٢٩)

*If a party from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion and admonish the people*



*when they return to them, that thus they (may learn) to guard themselves (against evil)' (Q., 9:122).*

This concerns those who set off to seek knowledge, and then return to those who remained behind in order to teach them."<sup>16</sup>

Hākim then remarks:

"This verse shows that the acceptable knowledge is the one which is being heard, not just received by way of *Irsāl*."<sup>17</sup>

9) Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 462) strongly supports the view of those who reject the *Mursal* except if it comes through elder Successors. He concludes, after giving a perusal of different opinions about this issue:

"What we select out of these sayings is that the *Mursal* is not to be practised nor is it acceptable as proof. We say that *Irsāl* leads to one reporter being ambiguous; if he is ambiguous, to ascertain his reliability is impossible. We have already explained that a narration is only acceptable if it comes through a reporter known for reliability. Hence, the *Mursal* should not be accepted at all."<sup>18</sup>

Khaṭīb gives the following example, showing that a narrative which has been reported through both *musnad* and *mursāl* isnads is acceptable, not because of the reliability of those who narrated it by way of *Irsāl* but because of an uninterrupted isnād, even through less reliable reporters:

The text of the ḥadīth is: "*No marriage is valid except by the consent of the guardian*"; ... Khaṭīb gives two isnads going back to Shu'ba and Sufyān al-Thaurī; the remainder of each isnad is: Sufyān al-Thaurī and Shu'ba --- Abū Ishāq --- Abū Barda --- the Prophet.

This isnād is *mursal* because Abū Burda, a Successor, narrates directly from the Prophet. However, al-Khaṭīb gives three isnads going back to Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq, Isrā'īl b. Yūnus and Qais b. al-Rabī'; the remainder of the first isnād is: Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq --- Abū Ishāq --- Abū Burda --- Abū Mūsā --- the Prophet. The other two reporters narrate similarly, including the name of Abū Mūsā, the Companion from whom Abū Burda has reported.

Khaṭīb further proves that both Thaurī and Shu'ba heard this ḥadīth from Abu Ishāq in one sitting while the other three reporters listened to him in different sittings. Hence this addition of Abū Mūsā in the isnād is quite acceptable.<sup>19</sup>



10) Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643) agrees with al-Shāfi'ī in rejecting the *Mursal* Ḥadīth unless it is proved to have come through a *musnad* route.<sup>20</sup>

11) Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728) classifies *Mursal* into three categories. He says,

"There are some acceptable, others unacceptable, and some which require further investigation: if it is known that the reporter does so (i.e. narrates by *Irsāl*) from reliable authorities, then his report will be accepted; if he does so from both classes of authorities, i.e. reliable and unreliable, we shall cease to accept his narration if it is proved that sometimes he reports from unknown authorities as well. All such *mursal* aḥādīth which go against the reports made by reliable authorities will be rejected completely."<sup>21</sup>

12) al-Dhahabī (d. 748) regards the *Mursal* of younger Successors such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, al-Zuhri, Qatāda and Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl as the weakest type of *Mursal*.<sup>22</sup>

Later scholars such as Ibn Kathīr (d. 744), al-'Irāqī (d. 806), Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852), al-Suyūṭī (d. 910), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840), Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī (d. 1338) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsmī (d. 1332) have given exhaustive discussions about this issue, but none of them holds an opinion different to those mentioned above.

### 3. Mutawātir and Āḥād aḥādīth

Depending on the number of the reporters of the ḥadīth, it can be classified into the general categories of *mutawātir* or *āḥād* ḥadīth.

A *mutawātir* ḥadīth is one which is reported by such a large number of people that they cannot be expected to agree upon a lie, all of them together.<sup>23</sup>

al-Ghazālī (d. 505) stipulates that a *mutawātir* narration be known by the great number of its reporters equally in the beginning, in the middle and at the end.<sup>24</sup> He is correct in this stipulation because some narrations, although known as *mutawātir* among some people, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, have no *tawātur* in the beginning.

Examples of *mutawātir* practices are the five daily prayers, fasting, zakāt, the Ḥajj and recitation of the Qur'ān. Among the verbal *mutawātir* aḥādīth, the following has been reported by more than sixty-two Companions and has been widely known among the Muslims throughout the ages:

مَنْ كَذَبَ عَلَيَّ مُتَعَمِّدًا فَلْيَتَّبِعُوا مَقْعَدَهُ مِنَ النَّارِ

"Whoever lies about me intentionally, let him reserve his seat in the Fire."<sup>25</sup>

Aḥādīth related to the description of the *Haud Kauthar* (the Basin of Abundance) in the Hereafter, raising the hands at certain postures during prayer, rubbing wet hands on the leather socks during ablution, revelation of the Qur'ān in seven modes, and the prohibition of every intoxicant are further examples of verbal *mutawātir* aḥādīth.<sup>26</sup>

A *ḥadīth āḥād* or *khābar wāḥid* is one which is narrated by people whose number does not reach that of the *mutawātir* case. *Āḥād* is further classified into *mashhūr*, *'azīz* and *gharīb*.

A *ḥadīth* is termed *gharīb* when a single reporter is found relating it, usually at the beginning of the *isnād* (i.e., only one Companion relates it from the Prophet). For example, the saying of the Prophet,

..السَّفَرُ قِطْعَةٌ مِنَ الْعَذَابِ

"Travel is a part of torment" is *gharīb*; the *isnād* of this *ḥadīth* contains only one reporter in each stage: Mālik --- Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṣāliḥ --- Abū Huraira --- The Prophet. With regard to its *isnād*, this *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, although most *gharīb* aḥādīth are weak; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said, "Do not write these *gharīb* aḥādīth because they are *munkar* and most of them are weak."<sup>27</sup>

A type of *ḥadīth* similar to *gharīb* is *al-afrād* (the solitary ones); it is known in three ways:

(i) Similar to *gharīb*, i.e. a single person is found reporting it from a well-known Imām.

(ii) People of one locality are known to narrate a *ḥadīth*.

(iii) People of one locality are known to report a *ḥadīth* from the people of another locality, such as Makkan people reporting from Madinan.<sup>28</sup>

If at any stage in the *isnāds*, only two reporters are found to narrate the *ḥadīth*, it is termed *'azīz*. For example, Anas reported that the Messenger of Allāh said,

"None of you believes until I become more beloved to him than his own son, his father and all mankind."

Two reporters, Qatāda and 'Abd. al-'Azīz b. Shu'aib, report this *ḥadīth* from Anas, and two more reporters narrate from each of them: Shu'ba and Sa'id



report from Qatāda, and Ismā'īl b. Ulayya and 'Abd al-Wārith from 'Abd al-'Azīz. Then a group of people report from each of them.<sup>29</sup>

A ḥadīth which is reported by more than two reporters is known as *mashhūr*. According to some scholars, every narrative which comes to be known widely, whether or not it has an authentic origin, is called *mashhūr*. A *mashhūr* ḥadīth might be reported by only one or two reporters in the beginning but become widely-known later, unlike *gharīb* or '*azīz*, which are reported by one or two reporters in the beginning and continue to have the same number even in the times of the Successors and those after them. For example, if only one or two reporters are found narrating ḥadīth from a reliable authority in Ḥadīth such as al-Zuhri and Qatāda, the ḥadīth will remain either *gharīb* or '*azīz. On the other hand, if a group of people narrate from them it will be then known as *mashhūr*.<sup>30</sup> An example of a *mashhūr* ḥadīth is the famous saying of the Prophet,*

”إِنَّمَا الْأَعْمَالُ بِالنِّيَّاتِ“

"Actions are (judged) according to their intentions."

According to 'Alā'ī (Abū Sa'īd Khalīl Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; d. 761), a ḥadīth may be known as '*azīz and *mashhūr* at the same time. By this he means a ḥadīth which is left with only two reporters in its isnād at any stage while it enjoys a host of reporters in other stages, such as the saying of the Prophet,*

"We are the last but (will be) in the first (rank) on the Day of Resurrection."

This hadith is '*azīz in its first stage, as it is reported by Hudhaifa b. al-Yamān and Abū Huraira only. Later it becomes *mashhūr* as seven people report it from Abū Huraira.<sup>31</sup>*

#### 4. According to the manner in which the ḥadīth is reported.

Different ways of reporting, e.g. حَدَّثَنَا (he narrated to us), أَخْبَرَنَا (he informed us), سَمِعْتُ (I heard), and عَنْ (on the authority of) are used by the reporters of ḥadīth. The first three usually indicate that the reporter heard in person from his shaikh. The mode can denote either hearing in person or through another reporter.

*Tadlīs* (concealing) refers to an isnād where a reporter may have concealed the



identity of his shaikh. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ describes two types of *ṭadlīs*:

a) *Tadlīs al-Isnād*; A person reports from his shaikh, whom he met, what he did not hear from him, or from a contemporary of his whom he did not meet, in such a way as to create the impression that he heard the ḥadīth in person.

A *mudallis* normally uses the mode *عن* or *قال* to conceal the truth about the isnād.

b) *Tadlīs al-Shuyūkh*: The reporter does mention his shaikh by his usual name, but instead with a less well-known name, by-name, nickname or another less well-known identity, in order not to disclose his shaikh's identity.<sup>32</sup>

Al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806), in his notes on *Muqaddima Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, adds a third type of *ṭadlīs*, known as *ṭadlīs al-ṭaswiyya*. To explain it, let us assume an isnād which contains a trustworthy shaikh reporting from a weak authority, who in turn reports from another trustworthy shaikh. Now, the reporter of this isnād omits the intermediate weak authority, leaving the isnād apparently consisting of reliable authorities. He plainly shows that he heard it from his shaikh but he uses the mode *ʿan* to link his immediate shaikh with the next trustworthy one, thus omitting the intermediate authority. To an average reader, this isnād seems free of any doubt or discrepancy. This is known to have been practised by Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, Walīd b. Muslim, Aʿmash and al-Thaurī. It is said to be the worst among the three kinds of *ṭadlīs*.<sup>33</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852) classifies the *mudallisūn* into five categories in his essay *Tabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*:

a) Those who are known to do it occasionally, such as Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī.

b) Those who are accepted by the traditionists, either because of their good reputation and relatively few cases of *ṭadlīs*, e.g. al-Thaurī, or because they reported from authentic authorities only, e.g. Ibn ʿUyaina.

c) Those who practised it a great deal. The traditionists have accepted only such aḥādīth from them which were reported with a clear mention of hearing directly. Among these are Abū Zubair al-Makkī. Opinions differ regarding whether they are acceptable or not.

d) Similar to the previous category, but the traditionists agree that their aḥādīth are to be rejected unless they clearly admit of their hearing, such as Baqiyya b. al-Walīd.

e) Those who are disparaged due to another reason apart from *ṭadlīs*; their aḥādīth are rejected, even though they admit of hearing them directly. Exempted from them are reporters such as Ibn Lahīʿa, whose weakness is found to be of a lesser degree. Ibn Ḥajar gives the names of 152 such reporters.<sup>34</sup>

*Tadlīs*, especially of those in the last three categories, is so disliked that Shuʿba

said, "ʿadlīs is the brother of lying" and "To commit adultery is more favourable to me than to report by way of ʿadlīs."<sup>35</sup>

A *musalsal* (continued) isnād is one in which all the reporters as well as the Prophet use the same mode of transmission such as 'an, ḥaddathanā, etc., repeat any other additional statement or remark, or act in a particular manner while narrating the ḥadīth.

Al-Hākim (d. 405) gives eight examples of such asānīd, each having a different characteristic repeated feature:

- a) use of the phrase *sami'tu* (I heard);
- b) an expression such as "stand and pour water for me so that I may illustrate the way my shaikh performed ablution";
- c) ḥaddathanā (he narrated to us);
- d) an expression such as *amaranī* (he commanded me);
- e) an action such as holding one's beard;
- f) illustrating by counting on five fingers;
- g) an expression such as "I testify that ..."; and
- h) interlocking the fingers.<sup>36</sup>

Knowledge of *musalsal* helps in discounting the possibility of ʿadlīs.

#### 5. According to the nature of the text itself: *shādhḍh* (aloof) and *munkar* (rejected)

According to al-Shāfi'ī, a *shādhḍh* ḥadīth is one which is reported by a trustworthy person but goes against the narration of a person more authentic than him. It does not include a ḥadīth which is unique in its contents and is not narrated by someone else.<sup>37</sup> In the light of this definition, the well-known ḥadīth,

" إِنَّمَا الْأَعْمَالُ بِالنِّيَّاتِ "

"Actions are (judged) according to intentions", is not considered *shādhḍh* since it has been narrated by Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taimī from 'Alqama from 'Umar, all of whom are trustworthy authorities, although each one of them is the only reporter at that stage.<sup>38</sup>

According to Ibn Hajar, if a narration which goes against another authentic ḥadīth is reported by a weak narrator, it is known as *munkar*.<sup>39</sup>

Traditionists as late as Aḥmad used to simply label any ḥadīth of a weak



reporter as *munkar*.<sup>40</sup>

Sometimes, a ḥadīth is labelled as *munkar* because of its contents being contrary to general sayings of the Prophet. .Khaṭīb (d. 463) quotes .Rabī' b. Khaitham as saying,

"Some aḥādīth have a light like that of a day which is known to us. Some aḥādīth have darkness like that of night which makes us reject it." He also quotes al-Auzā'ī as saying, "We used to listen to aḥādīth and present them to fellow traditionists just as we present forged coins to a money-exchanger: whatever they recognise of them, we accept, and whatever they reject of them, we also reject."<sup>41</sup>

Ibn Kathīr quotes the following two aḥādīth in his *Tafsīr*, the first of which is acceptable, while the second contradicts it and is unreliable:

(i) Aḥmad === Abū Mu'āwiya === Hishām b. 'Urwa --- Fāṭima bint al-Mundhir --- Asmā' bint Abī Bakr, who said, "My mother came (to Madīna) during the treaty Quraish had made, while she was still a polytheist. So I came to the Prophet and said to him, 'O Messenger of Allāh, my mother has come willingly: should I treat her with kindness?' He replied, 'Yes! Treat her with kindness'."

(ii) . . . Bazzār === 'Abdullāh b. Shabīb === Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba === Abū Qatāda al-'Adawī --- the nephew of . . . Zuhri --  
- . . . Zuhri --- 'Urwa --- 'Ā'isha and Asmā', both of whom said, "Our mother came to us in Madīna while she was a polytheist, during the peace treaty between the Quraish and the Messenger of Allāh. So we said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, our mother has come to Madīna willingly. Do we treat her kindly?' He said, 'Yes! Treat her kindly'."

Ibn Kathīr then remarks:

"This (latter) ḥadīth, to our knowledge is reported only through this route of . . . Zuhri --- 'Urwa --- 'Ā'isha. It is a *munkar* ḥadīth with this text because the mother of 'Ā'isha is Umm Rumān, who was already a Muslim emigrant, while the mother of Asmā' was another woman as mentioned by name in other aḥādīth."<sup>42</sup>



In contrast to a *munkar* ḥadīth, if a reliable reporter is found to add something which is not narrated by other authentic sources, his addition is normally accepted as long as it does not contradict them; such an addition is known as *ziyādatḥiqa* (an addition by one trustworthy).<sup>43</sup>

An addition by a Companion to the saying of the Prophet is termed *mudraj* (added).<sup>44</sup> For example, al-Khaṭīb relates via Abū Qaṭṭān and Shabāba --- Shu'ba --- Muḥammad b. Ziyād --- Abū Huraira --- The Prophet, who said,

« أَسْبِغُوا الْوُضُوءَ ، وَبَلِّ لِي الْأَعْقَابَ مِنَ النَّارِ »

"Perform the ablution fully; woe to the heels from the Fire!"

Khaṭīb then remarks,

"The statement, 'Perform the ablution fully' is made by Abū Huraira, while the statement afterwards, 'Woe to the heels from the Fire!', is that of the Prophet. The distinction between the two is understood from the narration of al-Bukhārī, who transmits the same ḥadīth and quotes Abū Huraira as saying, 'Complete the ablution, for Abūl-Qasim said, 'Woe to the heels from the Fire!'.<sup>45</sup>

Such an addition may be found in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end, in explanation of a term used. *Idrāj* (addition) is mostly found in the text, although a few examples show that such additions are found in the isnād as well, where the reporter grafts a part of one isnād to another.

A reporter found to be in the habit of intentional *idrāj* is generally unacceptable and considered a liar.<sup>46</sup> However, the traditionists are more lenient towards such reporters who may do so forgetfully or in order to explain a difficult word.

## 6. According to a hidden defect found in the isnād or text of a ḥadīth.

Before discussing *ma'lūl* (defective) aḥādīth, a brief note on *muḍṭarib* (shaky) and *maqlūb* (reversed) aḥādīth would help in understanding *ma'lūl*.

According to Ibn Kathīr, if reporters disagree about a particular shaikh, about some other points in the isnād or about the text in such a way that none of the opinions can be preferred over another, such a ḥadīth is called *muḍṭarib*.

For example with regard to *idṭirāb* in the isnād, it is reported on the authority of Abū Bakr that he said: "O Messenger of Allāh! I see you getting older?" He replied, "What made me old are Sūra Hūd and its sister sūras."

... Dāraqutnī says,

"This is an example of a *muḍṭarib* ḥadīth. It is reported through Abū Ishāq, but as many as ten different opinions are held about this isnād; some report it as *mursal*, others as *muttaṣil*; some take it as *musnad* of Abū Bakr, others as *musnad* of Sa'd or 'Ā'isha. Since all these reports are reliable, it is difficult to prefer one to the other: hence, the ḥadīth is termed as *muḍṭarib*."<sup>47</sup>

As an example of *idṭirāb* in the text, Rāfi' b. Khadij<sup>said</sup> that the Messenger of Allāh forbade the renting of land. The reporters narrating from Rāfi' give different statements as follows:

- (i) Ḥanzala asked Rāfi', "What about renting on gold and silver?" He replied, "It does not matter if it is lent on gold and silver."
- (ii) Rifā'a --- Rāfi' --- the Prophet, who said, "Whoever owns a piece of land should cultivate it, give it to his brother to cultivate, or abandon it."
- (iii) Sālim --- Rāfi' --- his two uncles --- the Prophet, who forbade the renting of farming land.
- (iv) The son of Rāfi' --- Rāfi' --- the Prophet, who forbade the renting of land.
- (v) A different narration by Rāfi' from the Prophet, who said, "Whoever owns a piece of land should either cultivate it or give it to his brother to cultivate. He must not rent it on a third or fourth part (of the produce) or on a given quantity of the produce."
- (vi) Zaid b. Thābit said, "May Allah forgive Rāfi'! I am more aware of the ḥadīth than he; what happened was that two Helpers had a dispute, so they came to the Prophet, who (after listening to their cases) said, 'If this is your position, then do not rent the farms.' Rāfi' has just heard the last phrase, i.e., 'Do not rent the farms'."

Because of these various versions, Aḥmad says,

"The aḥādīth reported by Rāfi' about the renting of land are *muḍṭarib*. They are not to be accepted, especially when they go against the well-established ḥadīth of Ibn 'Umar that the Messenger of Allāh gave the land of Khaibar to the Jews on condition that they work on it and take half of the produce."<sup>48</sup>



### Maqlūb (reversed) ahādīth

A ḥadīth is known as *maqlūb* when its isnād is grafted to a different text or vice versa, or if a reporter happens to reverse the order of phrases in a sentence in the text.

As an example relating to text, Muslim, in his transmission of the famous ḥadīth describing the seven who will be under the shelter of Allah on the Day of Judgment, quotes one of the categories as, "*A man who conceals his act of charity to an extent that his right hand does not know what his left hand gives in charity.*" This sentence has clearly been reversed by a reporter, because the correct wording is recorded in other narrations of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim as follows, "... *that his left hand does not know what his right hand gives in charity.*"<sup>49</sup>

The famous trial of al-Bukhārī by the scholars of Baghdād provides a good example of a *maqlūb* isnād. The traditionists, in order to test their visitor, al-Bukhārī, appointed ten men, each with ten ahādīth. Now, each ḥadīth of these ten was grafted with the isnād of another. Imām al-Bukhārī listened to each of the ten men and denied the authenticity of every ḥadīth. When they had finished narrating these ahādīth, al-Bukhārī turned to each person in turn and recounted to him each ḥadīth with its correct isnad. This trial won him great honour among the scholars of Baghdād.<sup>50</sup>

Other ways of rendering a ḥadīth *maqlūb* are by replacing the name of a reporter with another, e.g. quoting Abū Huraira as the reporter from the Prophet although the actual reporter is someone else, or by reversing the name of the reporter, e.g. mentioning Walīd b. Muslim instead of Muslim b. Walīd, or Ka'b b. Murra instead of Murra b. Ka'b.<sup>51</sup>

### Ma'lūl or Mu'allal (defective) hadith

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ says, "A *ma'lūl* ḥadīth is one which appears to be sound, but thorough research reveals a disparaging factor." Such factors can be:

- (i) declaring a ḥadīth *musnad* when it is in fact *mursal*, or *marfū'* when it is in fact *mauqūf*; and
- (ii) showing a reporter to narrate from his shaikh when in fact he did not meet the latter; or attributing a ḥadīth to one Companion when it in fact comes through another.<sup>52</sup>

Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234) says that such a defect can only be revealed if all the asānīd of a particular ḥadīth are collated. In his book *al-'Ilal*, he gives thirty-four Successors and the names of those Companions from whom each of them heard directly. For example, he says that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did not see 'Alī, although he adds there is a slight possibility that he may have seen him



during his childhood in Madīna.<sup>53</sup> Such information is very important since many Ṣūfī traditions go back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who is claimed to report directly from ‘Alī.

Being a very delicate branch of *Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth*, only a few well-known traditionists such as Ibn al-Madīnī (d. 234), Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327), ʿAbd al-Khallāl (d. 311) and ʿAbd al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385), have compiled books about it. Ibn Abī Ḥātim has given 2840 examples of *ma‘lūl* aḥādīth related to different issues in his *Kitāb al-‘Ilal*.

An example of a *ma‘lūl* ḥadīth is one transmitted by Muslim on the authority of Abū Huraira, who reports the Prophet as saying,

"Allāh created Land on Saturday, the Mountain on Monday, despised things on Tuesday, Light on Wednesday, scattered the cattle in it (the earth) on Thursday, and created Adam on Friday."<sup>54</sup>

About it, Ibn Taimiyya says,

"Men more knowledgeable than Muslim, such as al-Bukhārī and Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, have criticised it. . . Bukhārī said, 'This saying is not that of the Prophet, but one of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār'."<sup>55</sup>

## 7. According to the reliability and memory of the reporters

Under this classification falls the final verdict on a ḥadīth, being one of the following: *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan*, *ḍa‘īf* or *mauḍū‘*.

Among the early traditionists, mostly of the first two centuries, aḥādīth were classified into two categories only: *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍa‘īf*; . . . Tirmidhī was to be the first to distinguish *ḥasan* from *ḍa‘īf*. This is why traditionists and jurists such as Aḥmad, who seemed to argue on the basis of *ḍa‘īf* aḥādīth sometimes, were in fact basing their argument on the aḥādīth which were later to be known as *ḥasan*.<sup>56</sup>

We now examine in more detail these four important classes of aḥādīth.

### *Ṣaḥīḥ* (sound)

...Shāfi‘ī states the following requirement in order for a ḥadīth which is not *mutawātir* to be acceptable:

"Each reporter should be trustworthy in his religion; he should be known to be truthful in his narrating, to understand what he narrates, to know how a different expression can alter the meaning, and report the wording of the ḥadīth verbatim, not only its meaning. This is because if he does not know how a different expression can change the whole meaning, he will not know if he has changed what is lawful into what is prohibited. Hence, if he reports the ḥadīth according to its wording, no change of meaning is found at all. Moreover, he should be a good memoriser if he happens to report from his memory, or a good preserver of his book if he happens to report from it. He should agree with the narrations of the *ḥuffāz*, if he reports something which they also do. He should not be a *mudallis*, who narrates from someone he met something he did not hear, nor should he report from the Prophet contrary to what reliable sources have reported from him. In addition, the one who is above him (in the isnād) should be of the same quality until the ḥadīth goes back uninterrupted to the Prophet or any authority below him."<sup>57</sup>

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, however, defines a *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth more precisely by saying:

"A *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth is the one which has a continuous isnād, made up of reporters of trustworthy preservers from similar authorities, and which is found to be clear from *shudhūdh* and any defects."

By the above definition, no room is left for any weak ḥadīth, whether, for example, it is *munqaṭi'*, *mu'dal*, *mudṭarib*, *maqlūb*, *shādhdh*, *munkar*, *ma'lūl*, or contains a *mudallis*. The definition also excludes *ḥasan* aḥādīth, as will be shown under that heading.

Of all the collectors of ḥadīth, . . . Bukhārī and Muslim were greatly admired because of their tireless attempt to collect *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth only. It is generally understood that the more trustworthy and of good memory the reporters, the more authentic the ḥadīth. The isnād: . . . Shāfi'ī --- Mālik --- Nāfi' --- 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar --- The Prophet, is called a "golden isnād" because of its renowned reporters.<sup>58</sup>

Some traditionists prefer Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī to Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim because . . . Bukhārī always looked for those reporters who have either accompanied or met each other, even if only once in their lifetime. On the other hand, Muslim would accept a reporter who is simply found to be contemporary to his immediate authority in reporting.<sup>59</sup>

The following grading is given for *ṣaḥīḥ* aḥādīth only:

- (i) those which are transmitted by both . . . Bukhārī and Muslim;
- (ii) those which are transmitted by . . . Bukhārī only;
- (iii) those which are transmitted by Muslim only;
- (iv) those which agree with the requirements of both . . . Bukhārī and Muslim but are not found in their collections;
- (v) those which agree with the requirements of . . . Bukhārī only;
- (vi) those which agree with the requirements of Muslim only; and
- (vii) those declared *ṣaḥīḥ* by other traditionists.<sup>60</sup>

### Hasan (agreeable)

. . . Tirmidhī means by *ḥadīth ḥasan*, a ḥadīth which is not *shādhah*, which does not contain a disparaged reporter in its isnād, and which is reported through more than one route of narration.<sup>61</sup>

. . . Khaṭṭābī (d. 388) states a very concise definition,

"It is the one where its source is known and its reporters are prominent."

By this he means that the ḥadīth should not be of an ambiguous nature like the *mursal* or *munqaṭi'* ḥadīth, or one containing a *mudallis*.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ classifies *ḥasan* into two categories:

- (i) one with an isnād containing a reporter who is *mastūr* (i.e., no prominent person reported from him) but is not totally careless in his reporting, provided that a similar text is reported through another isnād as well;
- (ii) one with an isnād containing a reporter who is known to be truthful and reliable, but is a degree less in his preservation of ḥadīth in comparison to the reporters of *ṣaḥīḥ* aḥādīth.

In both categories, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ requires that the ḥadīth be free of any *shudhūdh*.<sup>62</sup>

. . . Dhahabī, after giving the various definitions, says, "A ḥasan ḥadīth is one which excels the ḍa'īf but nevertheless does not reach the standard of a ṣaḥīḥ ḥadīth."<sup>63</sup> In the light of this definition, the following isnāds are ḥasan according to al-Dhahabī:

- (i) Bahz b. Ḥakam --- his father --- his grandfather;



- (ii) 'Amr b. Shu'aib --- his father --- his grandfather;
- (iii) Muḥammad b. 'Amr --- Abū Salama --- Abū Huraira.

Reporters such as al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdullāh, 'Āṣim b. Ḍamra, Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt, Khuṣaif b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Darraj Abū al-Samḥ attract different verdicts: some traditionists declare their aḥādīth *ḥasan*, others declare them *da'īf*.<sup>64</sup>

According to the definition of Tirmidhī and Ibn al-Ṣalāh, a number of weak aḥādīth on a particular issue can be raised to the degree of *ḥasan* if the weakness found in their reporters is of a mild nature. However, in case the weakness is severe, (i.e., the reporter is a liar or the ḥadīth is itself *shādh*), such weak aḥādīth will not support each other and will remain weak. For example, the famous ḥadīth,

« مَنْ خَفِظَ عَلَى أُمَّتِي أَرْبَعِينَ حَدِيثًا بَعَثَهُ اللَّهُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فِي زُمَرَةِ الْفُقَهَاءِ »

"He who preserves forty ḥadīths for my Umma will be raised by Allāh on the Day of Resurrection among the Fuqahā", has been declared to be *da'īf* by most of the traditionists, although it is reported through various routes.<sup>65</sup>

### Da'īf (weak)

A ḥadīth which fails to reach the status of *ḥasan* is *da'īf*. Usually, the weakness is one of discontinuity in the isnād, in which case the ḥadīth could be *mursal*, *mu'allaq*, *mudallas*, *munqaṭi'* or *mu'dal*, according to the precise nature of the discontinuity, or one of a reporter having a disparaged character, such as due to his telling lies, excessive mistakes, opposition to the narration of more reliable sources, involvement in innovation, and ambiguity surrounding his own person.

The smaller the number and importance of defects, the less severe the weakness. The more the defects in number and severity, the closer the ḥadīth will be to being fabricated.<sup>66</sup>

Some aḥādīth, according to the variation in the nature of the weakness associated with its reporters, rank at the bottom of the *ḥasan* grade or the top of the *da'īf* grade. Reporters such as 'Abdullāh b. Lahī'a, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaid b. Aslam, Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam al-Himsi, Farāj b. Faḍala, Rishdīn b. Sa'd and the like, attract such types of varying ranks as they are neither extremely good preservers nor totally abandoned.<sup>67</sup>

### Maudū' (fabricated/spurious)

...-Dhahabī defines it as a ḥadīth, the text of which goes against the established norms or its reporters include a liar, e.g. the forty aḥādīth known as *Wad'aniyya* or the copy of 'Alī al-Riḍā which was fabricated against him.<sup>68</sup>

A number of traditionists have collected fabricated aḥādīth separately in order to distinguish them from other aḥādīth; among them are Ibn al-Jauzī in *al-Mawḍū'āt*, ...-Jauzaqānī in *Kitāb al-Abāṭil*, and ...-Suyūṭī in *al-La'ālī al-Maṣnū'a fī al-Aḥādīth al-Mawḍū'a*.

Some of these aḥādīth were known to be spurious by the confession of their inventors. For example, Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Maslūb used to say, "It is not wrong to fabricate an isnād for a sound statement."<sup>69</sup> Another notorious inventor, 'Abd al-Karīm Abū al-Aujā, who was killed and crucified by Muḥammad b. Sulaimān b. 'Alī, governor of Baṣra, admitted that he had fabricated four thousand aḥādīth declaring lawful the prohibited and vice-versa.<sup>70</sup>

*Mawḍū'* aḥādīth are also recognised by external evidence related to a discrepancy found in the dates or times of a particular incident.<sup>71</sup> For example, when the second caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wanted to expel the Jews from Khaibar, some Jewish dignitaries brought a document to 'Umar apparently proving that the Prophet had intended that they stay there by exempting them from *jizya*. The document carried the witness of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. 'Umar rejected the document outright, knowing that it was fabricated because the conquest of Khaibar took place in 6 AH, whereas Sa'd b. Mu'ādh died in 3 AH just after the Battle of the Trench, and Mu'āwiyah embraced Islām in 8 AH, after the conquest of Makkah.<sup>72</sup>

The author, in his thesis, *Criticism of Ḥadīth among Muslims with reference to Sunan Ibn Māja*, has given more examples of fabricated aḥādīth under the following eight categories of causes of fabrication:<sup>73</sup>

- (i) political differences;
- (ii) factions based on issues of creed;
- (iii) fabrications by *zanādiqa*;
- (iv) fabrications by story-tellers;
- (v) fabrications by ignorant ascetics;
- (vi) prejudice in favour of town, race or a particular imām;
- (vii) inventions for personal motives;
- (viii) proverbs turned into aḥādīth.

## SECTION C

### FURTHER BRANCHES OF MUṢṬALAH AND RIĪĀL AL-ḤADĪTH

The above-mentioned classification of aḥādīth plays a vital role in ascertaining the authenticity of a particular narration. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ mentions sixty-five terms in his book, of which twenty-three have been discussed above. Two further types not included by Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *mu'allaq* and *mutawātir*, have been dealt with from other sources. The remaining forty-two types follow in brief, which help further distinguish between different types of narrations.

1) The knowledge of *i'tibār*, *mutāba'a* and *shāhid*. Traditionists are always in search of more witnesses in favour of a ḥadīth which is reported by one source only; such research is termed *i'tibār*. If a supporting narration is not found for a particular ḥadīth, it is declared as *fard muṭlaq* (absolutely singular) or *gharīb*. For example, if a ḥadīth is reported through the following isnād: Hammād b. Salama --- Ayyūb --- Ibn Sīrīn --- Abū Huraira --- The Prophet, research would be done to ascertain whether another trustworthy reporter has narrated it from Ayyūb; if so, it will be called *mutāba'a tāmma* (complete *mutāba'a*); if not, a reporter other than Ayyūb narrating from Ibn Sīrīn would be sought: if so, it will be called *mutāba'a qāṣira* (incomplete *mutāba'a*).<sup>74</sup>

2) *Afrād* (singular narrations).

3) The type of character required in an acceptable reporter.

4) The way a ḥadīth is heard and the different ways of acquiring aḥādīth.

5) How a ḥadīth is written and how punctuation marks are used.

6) The way a ḥadīth is reported.

7) The manners required in traditionists.

8) The manners required for a student of ḥadīth.

9) The knowledge of a higher or lower isnād (i.e. one with less or more reporters respectively).

10) The knowledge of difficult words.



- 11) The knowledge of abrogated aḥādīth.
- 12) The knowledge of altered words in a text or isnād.
- 13) The knowledge of contradictory aḥādīth.
- 14) The knowledge of an addition made to an isnād (i.e. by an inserting the name of an additional reporter).
- 15) The knowledge of a well-concealed type of mursal.
- 16) The knowledge of the Companions.
- 17) The knowledge of the Successors.
- 18) The knowledge of elders reporting from younger reporters.
- 19) The knowledge of reporters similar in age reporting from each other.
- 20) The knowledge of brothers and sisters among reporters.
- 21) Knowledge of fathers reporting from their sons.
- 22) Knowledge of sons reporting from their fathers.
- 23) Knowledge of such reporters reporting from one authority, one in his early life and the other in his old age. In such cases the dates of death of the two reporters will be of significance.
- 24) Knowledge of such authorities from whom only one person reported.
- 25) Knowledge of such reporters who are known by a number of names and titles.
- 26) Knowledge of unique names among the Companions and the reporters in general.
- 27) Knowledge of names and by-names (*kunya*).
- 28) The knowledge of by-names for reporters known by their names only.
- 29) The knowledge of nicknames (*alqāb*) of the traditionists.
- 30) Knowledge of *mu'talif* and *mukhtalif* (names written similarly but pronounced differently, e.g. Kuraiz and Kariz. کُرَیز، کَرِیز)

- 31) The knowledge of *muttafiq* and *muftariq* (similar names but different identities), e.g. "Ḥanafī": there are two reporters with this name; one is called by this name because of his tribe Banū Ḥanīfa; the other because of his adherence to a particular madḥhab.
- 32) Names covering both previous types.
- 33) Names looking similar but they differ because of the difference in their father's names, e.g. Yazīd b. al-Aswad and al-Aswad b. Yazīd.
- 34) Names attributed to other than their fathers, e.g. Ismā'īl b. Umayya; in this case Umayya is the mother's name.
- 35) Knowledge of such relations (attributed to a place or tribe, etc.) which have a meaning different from what they seem to be apparently, e.g. Abū Mas'ūd al-Badrī, who is known as al-Badrī not because he witnessed the battle of Badr but because he came to live there.
- 36) The knowledge of ambiguous reporters by finding out their names.
- 37) The knowledge of the dates of birth and death of reporters.
- 38) The knowledge of trustworthy and weak reporters.
- 39) Knowledge of such trustworthy reporters who are found to be confused in their old age.
- 40) Knowledge of contemporaries in a certain period.
- 41) The knowledge of free slaves (*mawālī*) among the reporters.
- 42) The knowledge of the homelands and home towns of reporters.<sup>75</sup>

## FOOTNOTES and REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:89
2. Rāzī: *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*, 1:20
3. M. Adīb Ṣāliḥ: *Lamaḥāt fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, p. 143
4. Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad al-Jazā'irī: *Taujih al-Nazar ilā Uṣūl al-Nazar*, p. 68
5. Ḥākim: *Kitāb Ma'rifaṭ'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, p. 17
6. *ibid.*
7. Ibn Ḥajar: *Tadhkira al-Ḥuffāz*, 2:24
8. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: *al-Tamhīd*, 1:2
9. *ibid.*
10. *Al-Taudīh wa al-Talwīḥ*, p. 438
11. For the discussion in detail, see al-Shāfi'ī: *al-Risāla*, pp. 461-470
12. Suyūṭī: *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, 1:199; al-Ghadāmsī: *al-Mursal min al-Ḥadīth*, p. 71
13. Ibn al-Qayyim: *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, 1:234
14. Ibn Ḥazm: *al-Iḥkām*, 2:135
15. Kautharī: *notes on al-Ḥāzimī's Shurūṭ al-A'imma*, p. 45
16. Ḥākim: *Ma'rifaṭ'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, p. 26f
17. *ibid.*
18. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: *al-Kifāya fī 'Ilm al-Riwāya*, p. 387
19. *ibid.*, pp. 411-3
20. 'Irāqī, al-Ḥāfiz Zain al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusain: *al-Taḥqīd wa al-Idāḥ Sharḥ Muqaddima Ibn Ṣalāḥ*, p. 72
21. Ibn Taimiyya: *Minḥāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya*, 4:117
22. Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad: *al-Mūqiza*, p. 40
23. Jazā'irī, p. 33
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.* & al-Suyūṭī: *Tahdhir al-Khawāṣṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣās*, ch. i
26. Jazā'irī, p. 49 & al-Ṣan'ani, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl: *Taudīḥ al-Afkār*, 2:405
27. Ṣan'ānī, 2:409



28. Ḥākim, pp. 96-102
29. Ṣan‘ānī, 2:455
30. ‘Irāqī, p. 268
31. Ṣan‘ānī, 2:406
32. ‘Irāqī, p. 96
33. ibid.
34. Ibn Ḥajar: *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*, p. 7f
35. ‘Irāqī, p. 98
36. Ḥākim, pp. 30-34
37. ibid., p. 119
38. Ibn Kathīr: *Ikhtīṣār ‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* with notes by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, p. 57
39. Ṣan‘ānī, 2:3
40. ibid., 2:6
41. Khatīb, p. 431
42. Ibn Kathīr: *Tafsīr*, 4:349
43. Ibn Kathīr: *Ikhtīṣār*, p. 62
44. Ḥākim, p. 39
45. ‘Irāqī, p. 129f
46. Suyūṭī: *Tadrīb al-Rāwī*, p. 178
47. Ibn Kathīr: *Ikhtīṣār*, p. 72
48. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr: *al-Tamhīd*, 3:32, as mentioned by Luqmān al-Salafī: *Ihtimām al-Muḥaddithīn bi Naqd al-Ḥadīth*, p. 381f
49. Ibn Kathīr: *Ikhtīṣār*, p. 88
50. ibid., p. 87
51. Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān: *Fath al-Mughīth Sharḥ Alfīyyat al-Ḥadīth li al-‘Irāqī*, 1:278
52. Ibn al-Ṣalāh: *al-Muqaddima*, p. 116
53. Ibn al-Madīnī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ja‘far: *Kitāb al-‘Ilal*, p. 58
54. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ch. *al-Munafiqūn*, p. 27
55. Ibn Taimiyya: *al-Fatāwā*, 8:18f

56. Dhahabī: *al-Mūqīza*, p. 27
57. Shāfi'ī: *al-Risāla*, p. 370f
58. Dhahabī, p. 24
59. Nawawī: *Muqaddima*, p. 14
60. al-Ṭibī: *al-Khulāṣa*, p. 36
61. *ibid.*, p. 38
62. Nawawī, p. 43
63. Dhahabī, p. 26
64. *ibid.*, pp. 32-33
65. Jazā'irī: *Taujīh al-Nazar*, p. 149
66. Sakhāwī: *Fath al-Mughīth*, 1:99
67. Dhahabī, pp. 33-34
68. *ibid.*, p. 36
69. Sakhāwī, 1:264
70. *ibid.*, 1:275
71. Nawawī: *al-Taqrīb*, 1:275
72. See Ibn al-Qayyim: *al-Manār al-Muntf*, pp. 102-5 for a fuller discussion about this document of the Jews.
73. Suhaib Ḥasan: *Criticism of Hadīth*, pp. 35-44
74. *ibid.*, p. 156
75. see *Muqaddima Ibn al-Ṣalāh*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ANALYSIS OF THE AHĀDĪTH OF ‘ABD AL-RAZZĀQ AL-ŞAN‘ĀNĪ

There now follows an analysis on the aḥādīth of al-Şan‘ānī (d. 211), of which the translation of the texts has been given in Chapter One, Part One, preceded by a *tarjama* (biographical note) of each of the compiler, which will be helpful in the evaluation of their collections.

#### Tarjama

Dhahabī (d. 748/1347) says,

‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām b. Nāfi‘, the great *Ḥāfiẓ*, Abū Bakr, from the tribe of Ḥimyār. He belongs to them through *Walā* (i.e. a slave, after being set free, attributes himself to the tribe of his master), al-Şan‘ānī.

He compiled many books.

He reports a little from ‘Ubaidullāh b. ‘Umar. He reports from Ibn Juraij, Thaur b. Yazīd, Ma‘mar, Auzā‘ī, Thaurī and many others. He travelled to Shām in trade journeys and met elders.

From him report Aḥmad, Ishāq, Ibn Ma‘īn, Dhuhlī, Aḥmad b. Sālīḥ, Ramadī, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabrī, and a multitude of others. He used to say, "I accompanied Ma‘mar for seven years."

Aḥmad said, "'Abd al-Razzāq used to preserve the aḥādīth of Ma‘mar."

I say: More than one declared him to be trustworthy.

His aḥādīth have been transmitted in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections though he has some aḥādīth peculiar to him only. They (i.e. the traditionists) blamed him because of his inclinations towards the Shi‘ites. He did not exaggerate concerning this matter, although he loved ‘Alī (R.A.) and despised those who fought against him.

Salima b. Shabīb said, "I heard ‘Abd al-Razzāq saying, ‘By Allāh, my heart was never inclined towards preferring either ‘Alī or Abū



Bakr and ‘Umar.’ He was among the sources of knowledge but was not to the extent of Wakī‘ or Ibn Mahdī in the preservation (of Ḥadīth).”

Ibn Sa‘d said, "He died in mid-Shawwāl in 211 AH."

I say: He lived for eighty-five years. Were we to carry on pursuing the information about him, this book would be too long.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327) says,

Ibn ‘Uyaina reported a single Ḥadīth from him.

Yahyā b. Ma‘in says, "‘Abd al-Razzāq is more authentic in reporting from Ma‘mar than from Hishām b. Yūsuf."

Yahyā further says, "Abū Ja‘far al-Suwaidī told me that they (i.e. some traditionists) came to ‘Abd al-Razzāq and showed him a number of aḥādīth not known to him. They said to him, "Read them for us."

He said, "I do not know them."

They said, "Read them to us without using the term *Ḥaddathanā* (i.e. so-and-so related to us).

So he read those aḥādīth to them."

Abū Ḥātim was asked by his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (the compiler of the book *al-Jarḥ waal-Ta‘dīl*), "What do you say about ‘Abd al-Razzāq?" He replied, "His Ḥadīth should be recorded, but it is not valid for argument."<sup>2</sup>

### The book *al-Muṣannaf*

The early collections of aḥādīth, mostly of the mid-second century, such as those of ‘Abd al-Razzāq (D. 211), Sa‘īd b. Manṣūr (d. 227) and Ibn Abī Shaiba (d. 235) and Ma‘mar b. Rāshīd (d. 153), used to contain aḥādīth placed alongside the sayings and opinions of Companions and Successors under one chapter related to a single topic. Moreover, these books contained aḥādīth on different subjects like *Tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qur’an), *‘Aqā’id* (Beliefs), *Aḥkām* (verdicts on religious matters) and *Maghāzī* (Battles during the times of the Prophet). They were entitled *Muṣannaf*, *Jāmi’*, *Sunan* and *Mu’aṭṭā*.<sup>3</sup>

‘Abd al-Razzāq mostly depends upon his Shaikh, Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, who compiled *al-Jāmi’*, which is totally absorbed by ‘Abd al-Razzāq in his

collection. Of the 21033 aḥādīth in *al-Muṣannaf*, very few have a source in other than Ma'mar; 'Abd al-Razzāq admitted having heard ten thousand aḥādīth from Ma'mar.<sup>4</sup>

According to Shāh Walī Allāh, *al-Muṣannaf* ranks among the third type of Ḥadīth collections, defining these as "all such collections of Ḥadīth which were compiled before, during or after the time of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, consisting of all types of ḥadīth, i.e. *ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḥasan*, *ḍa'īf*, *shādhḍh* and *munkar* ... The intention of their compilers was to collect whatever they found, not meaning to scrutinise it."<sup>5</sup>

The reporters who appear in the asānīd of 'Abd al-Razzāq are of high esteem, e.g. Ma'mar, Zuhri (d. 124) and Qatāda (d. 117), but according to al-Ḥākim, the weakness found in some of his asānīd is of such a delicate nature that it cannot be perceived by an ordinary reader. He quotes as an example the following ḥadīth with an isnād of 'Abd al-Razzāq:

'Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma'mar --- Muḥammad b. Wāsi' --- Abū Ṣāliḥ --- Abū Huraira that the Messenger of Allāh (S.A.S) said:

"Whoever forgives a repent, Allāh will forgive him on the day of Resurrection, and whoever relieves a Muslim of a trouble, Allāh will relieve him of a trouble on the day of Resurrection, and Allāh will keep on helping a man as long as he has been helping his brother."

Ḥākim remarks,

"A person not fully-versed in this discipline would never doubt the authenticity of this isnād at a first glance. But the matter is not as simple as that: Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Ṣan'ānī is trustworthy and reliable, but he did not hear from Muḥammad b. Wāsi'; Muḥammad b. Wāsi' is trustworthy and reliable, but he did not hear from Abū Ṣāliḥ. Commenting fully on the defects of this ḥadīth would be too lengthy, but this ḥadīth stands as an example for thousands of similar ones which are known only to those who have acquired this knowledge."<sup>6</sup>

## Analysis of the ahādīth transmitted by ‘Abd al-Razzāq

‘Abd al-Razzāq transmitted thirteen ahādīth under chapter heading *al-Mahdī* and two under *al-Dajjāl* of his collection, as quoted in Chapter One, Part One. The detailed analysis of each ḥadīth is given below.

### Hadīth 1 (The man who flees from Madīna: to Makka: )

Isnād:<sup>7</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Qatāda --- The Prophet.

Isnād of Abū Dāwūd:<sup>8</sup> Abū Dāwūd --- Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā === Mu‘ādh b. Hishām === his father --- Qatāda --- Ṣāliḥ Abī'l Khalīl --- one of his companions --- Umm Salama --- The Prophet.

Isnād of ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shaiba:<sup>9</sup> Uthmān b. Abī Shaiba === Jarīr --- ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Rufai’ --- ‘Ubaidullāh b. al-Qibṭiyya --- Umm Salama --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

The isnād of ‘Abd al-Razzāq is *mursal*, since Qatāda, a Successor narrates directly from the Prophet (S.A.S.); thus, it is unacceptable.<sup>10</sup>

In the isnād of Abū Dāwūd, Qatāda reports by way of ‘An. Being a *mudallis* of the third category<sup>11</sup>, as declared by Ibn Hajar<sup>12</sup>, this renders his narration questionable. Moreover, this isnād contains an unknown authority, the companion of Ṣāliḥ Abū l-Khalīl, whose name has been provided by Abū Dāwūd in a separate isnād as ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith.

The most authentic isnād is the third one, transmitted by Muslim through ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shaiba and Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba. According to this isnād, ‘Ubaidullāh b. al-Qibṭiyyah said,

Al-Hārith b. Rabiyya, ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān and I came to Umm Salama, the Mother of the Believers, asking her about the contingent which is going to sink. Those were the days when ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair was in power. She said, “The Messenger of Allāh said, ‘A person will take shelter in the House (of Allāh). A contingent will be sent to him, which will sink in a desert.’ I asked the Prophet, ‘O Messenger of Allāh ! What about anyone forced to



come out with them ?' He replied, 'He would sink with them but would be resurrected on the Day of Judgment in accordance with his intention'."

Abū Ja'far said, "The desert is that of Madīnah."

Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ reported Abū l-Walīd al-Kattānī as saying,

"This is not correct because Umm Salama died during the caliphate of Mu'āwīya in 59 AH, two years before his death. Therefore, she did not live until the time of Ibn al-Zubair."

Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ then commented,

"It is also said that she died in the early days of Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya. If that is the case, the above report is true because Ibn al-Zubair contested Yazīd the moment he heard about the pledge of caliphate in favour of Yazīd, as reported by al-Ṭabarī and others."<sup>13</sup>

Al-Albānī<sup>14</sup> declares the isnād of Abū Dāwūd, let alone that of 'Abd al-Razzāq, as *da'īf*.

Furthermore, there is no mention of the Mahdi in any of these narrations. By placing this ḥadīth under the title of the Mahdi, Abū Dāwūd related it to this subject but in the light of Muslim's version, it becomes clear that it has no connection with the subject of the Mahdi.<sup>15</sup>

## Hadīth 2 (The Mahdi: a man from my household)

Isnād:<sup>16</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq === Ma'mar --- Abū Hārūn --- Mu'āwīya b. Qurrah --- Abū l-Ṣiddīq al-Nāji' --- Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī === The Prophet.

## Discussion

This isnād contains Abū Hārūn, Umāra b. Juwain al-Abdī, who is unanimously held to be a very weak authority.

Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad said about him, "Worse than Pharoah in his lies."<sup>17</sup>

Ḥākim transmitted this ḥadīth in his al-Mustadrak.<sup>18</sup> But al-Dhahabī remarked, "The isnād of this ḥadīth is *mazlūm* (dark)"<sup>19</sup>

Hence, this isnād is *ḍaʿīf*. However, taking into consideration the other aḥādīth of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī on the same topic<sup>20</sup>, this ḥadīth reaches the rank of *ḥasan* along with them, and is thus acceptable.

### Hadīth 3 (One fitna followed by another)

Isnād:<sup>21</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Maʿmar --- Ayyūb --- Ibn Sīrīn --- Abū l-Jald.

#### Discussion

The reporter of this narration, Abū l-Jald Jailān b. Farwān, is held to be a man of the books of Taurāt.<sup>22</sup> Although he is trustworthy, he does not quote his authority for this saying. As such, this narration has no validity.

### Hadīth 4 (He brings forth the Taurāt and Injīl from Antioch)

Isnād:<sup>23</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Maʿmar --- Maṭar --- Kaʿb.

Isnād of Nuʿaim b. Hammād:<sup>24</sup> Maṭar al-Warrāq --- someone who narrated to him --- Kaʿb.

#### Discussion

In this isnād, Maṭar seems to report directly from Kaʿb. But according to the isnad of Nuʿaim b. Hammād, Maṭar heard from someone who reported from Kaʿb. Owing to the ambiguous identity of this reporter between Maṭar and Kaʿb, as well as the bad memory of Maṭar<sup>25</sup>, this ḥadīth is not authentic (*ḍaʿīf*).

### Hadīth 5 (The Mahdi is hook-nosed)

Isnād:<sup>26</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Maʿmar --- Maṭar --- a man --- Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī.

#### Discussion

This isnād contains an unknown person between Maṭar and Abū Saʿīd; therefore, it is not acceptable (*ghair maqbūl*). However, it reaches the rank of *ḥasan* due to supporting narrations (see Hadīth 2 above).

### Hadīth 6 (He will scatter wealth)

Isnād:<sup>27</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Sa‘īd al-Jurairī --- Abū Nadra --- Jābir b. ‘Abdullāh.

#### Discussion

Of the reporters of this ḥadīth, Sa‘īd al-Jurairī is known to have become confused in his old age.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, any narrations of that period of his life would not be authentic.

In any case, the ḥadīth does not specifically speak of the Mahdi, but speaks instead of an Imām who will be very generous.

### Hadīth 7 (A sign with the sun)

Isnād:<sup>29</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Ibn Ṭā‘ūs --- ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās.

#### Discussion

Both ‘Abdullāh b. Ṭā‘ūs<sup>30</sup> and ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh<sup>31</sup> are reliable. Thus, the ḥadīth is sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*).

However, it is the saying of a Successor and is not attributed to the Prophet (*mauqūf*).

### Hadīth 8 (The earth filled with injustice)

Isnād:<sup>32</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Abū Ishāq --- ‘Āṣim b. Ḍamra --- ‘Alī.

#### Discussion

Although ‘Āṣim is considered reliable by Ibn Ma‘īn, Ibn al-Madīnī, Aḥmad and al-Nasā‘ī, there is also no shortage of disparaging remarks about him:

Ibn ‘Adī says, "He narrates aḥādīth from ‘Alī which are not known from other sources."



Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh says, “I heard Mughīra saying, ‘Of all those who report from ‘Alī, only the companions of Ibn Mas‘ūd are found to be reliable’.”

Ibn Hibbān says, “He reports a lot from ‘Alī. He has a bad memory and (makes) numerous mistakes, which is why he deserves to be abandoned, although he is better than Hārith al-A‘war.”<sup>33</sup>

As for Abū Ishāq, al-Sabī‘ī, he is known to have become confused in his old age.<sup>34</sup>

This isnād is not reliable (*da‘īf*) because of ‘Āṣim b. Ḍamra. However, it stands as a supporting narration (*shāhid*) to similar statements reported from ‘Alī<sup>35</sup>, and thus reaches the rank of *ḥasan*.

### Hadīth 9 (Woe to the Arabs from an evil)

Isnād:<sup>36</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Ismā‘īl b. Ummayya --- a man he presumes to be Sa‘īd --- Abū Huraira.

### Discussion

There are four reporters by the name of Ismā‘īl b. Ummayya. Only one of them, al-Amawī by relation to his tribe, is trustworthy.<sup>37</sup>

Ḥākim has given the name of the reporter from Abū Huraira as definitely being Sa‘īd.<sup>38</sup>

Both Ḥākim and Dhahabī have declared this ḥadīth as sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*). However, it has no connection with the issue of the Mahdi.

### Aḥādīth 10 & 11 (The excellence of al-Shām)

Neither of these aḥādīth is related to the subject.

Aḥādīth 12 & 13 (Descent of 'Īsā b. Maryam, who will pray behind the Mahdi)

Isnād:<sup>39</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma'mar --- Ayyūb, or another man --- Ibn Sīrīn.

Discussion

A number of similar aḥādīth about the descent of 'Īsā b. Maryam at the white minaret north of Damascus have been reported by Nawwās b. Sam'ān al-Kalbī<sup>40</sup>, Aus b. al-Thaqīf<sup>41</sup> and Jābir b. 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī<sup>42</sup>. The latter one speaks of him praying behind a Muslim Amīr.

However, al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma transmits the ḥadīth of Jābir in his *al-Musnad*, giving the identity of the Amīr explicitly as the Mahdi.<sup>43</sup>

Although the interpretation given by Ibn Sīrīn is confirmed by the above narration, it is not authentic in itself, for it is not attributed to the Prophet (S.A.S.) or one of his Companions.

Like 'Abd al-Razzāq, Nu'aim b. Ḥammād has also given this statement of Ibn Sīrīn with a *munqaṭi'* (broken) isnād.<sup>44</sup> The same applies to the saying of 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr, similar to Ibn Sīrīn's, which is transmitted by Nu'aim b. Ḥammād with an isnād containing ambiguous reporters.<sup>45</sup>

## FOOTNOTES & REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER TWO

- 1 DHN, 10:564-574
- 2 AHK, 6:349
- 3 Al-Ṭahān: *Usūl al-Takhrīj wa Dirasāt al-Asānīd*, p. 134
- 4 'Irāqī: *Sharḥ Uḥfiyyat al-Ḥadīth*, 1:51
- 5 Dehlawī: *Hujjat Allāh al-Bāligha*, 1:107
- 6 Ḥākim: *Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, p. 18
- 7 AQM, 11:20769
- 8 DSA, 11:380
- 9 MSN, 18:4-5
- 10 see the preceding chapter for a discussion on the authenticity of the *Mursal* Ḥadīth.
- 11 see the preceding chapter for a discussion of *tadlīs*.
- 12 HTM, p.31
- 13 MSN, 18:4-5
- 14 LJD, 6:6456 & LMS, 3:25
- 15 This ḥadīth is also transmitted by AM, 6:316 & NKF, folio 95b
- 16 AQM, 11:20770
- 17 DHM, 3:174
- 18 HMK, 4:465
- 19 *ibid.*
- 20 see Ḥadīth no. 5 below, nos. 73, 74, 75, 77, 81 (Chapter 3), and no. 9 (Chapter 4).
- 21 AQM, 11:20771
- 22 AHK, 2:547
- 23 AQM, 11:20772
- 24 NKF, folio 98b
- 25 DHM, 4:126
- 26 AQM, 11:20773
- 27 AQM, 11:20774
- 28 DHM, 2:127 & HTQ, p. 233
- 29 AQM, 11:20775
- 30 HTQ, p. 308
- 31 HTQ, p. 403
- 32 AQM, 11: 20776
- 33 DHM 2:352
- 34 DHM 3:270 & HTQ, p. 423
- 35 cf. Ḥadīth 79, Chapter Three, & Ḥadīth 1, Chapter Four.
- 36 AQM 11:20777
- 37 HTQ, p. 106 & DHM, 1:222
- 38 HMK, 4:483
- 39 AQM, 11:20838 & 20839
- 40 MS, 1:137; DS, 2:213; JS, 2:508, 512; TS, 2:37; HMK, 4:492-4; AM, 4:181.
- 41 TMK, 1:186
- 42 MS, 1:137; AM, 3:345-384; DS, 3:11; TS, 6:433-483; JS 1:5
- 43 Ibn al-Qayyim: *al-Maṅar al-Munīf*, p. 147
- 44 NKF, folio 103a
- 45 NKF, folio 103a



### **CHAPTER THREE**

## **ANALYSIS OF THE AHĀDĪTH OF NU‘AIM B. HAMMĀD (d. 228 AH)**

There now follows the analysis of the ahādīth whose translations are given in Chapter Two, Part One. This Chapter is divided into seven sections:

Section A deals with the tarjama of Nu‘aim b. Hammād.

Because of the large number of his ahādīth studied, the analysis is done in the remaining six sections, as follows:

- Section B: Ahādīth nos. 1-20
- Section C: nos. 21-40
- Section D: nos. 41-60
- Section E: nos. 61-80
- Section F: nos. 81-100
- Section G: nos. 101-122.

## SECTION A

### Tarjama of Nu'aim b. Hammād

The *tarjama* (biographical notes) of Nu'aim b. Hammād, the author of *Kitāb al-Fitan* has been given by the following traditionists:

Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH) in *al-Ṭabaqāt*;  
Bukhārī (d. 256) in *al-Tarīkh al-Kabīr*;  
Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzi (d. 327) in *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl*;  
Ibn 'Adī (d. 365) in *al-Kāmil fi Du'afā al-Rijāl*,  
Khatīb (d. 463) in *Tārīkh Baghdad*;  
Dhahabī (d. 748) in *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, *Mizān al-I'tidāl* and *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā*;  
Ibn Hajar (d. 852) in *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*;  
Khazrajī (d. 923) in *al-Khulāṣā*;  
Fu'ad Sazgin (contemporary) in *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-'Arabī*.

The *tarjama* given by each traditionist, except the last two, who have not given anything original, is quoted below; any repetitions, other than the name, are omitted.

#### 1) Ibn Sa'd says:

Nu'aim belongs to Marw, from the people of Khurāsān. He acquired many aḥādīth in 'Irāq and Ḥijāz, and then came to Egypt, where he stayed until he left it during the Caliphate of Abū Ishāq b. Hārūn. He was asked about the Qur'ān (i.e. whether or not the Qur'ān is created), but refused to answer to their liking, so he was imprisoned at Samarra, where he remained until his death in 228 AH.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2) Bukhārī says:

Nu'aim b. Hammād, al-Marwazī, lived in Egypt. His *kunya* was Abū 'Abdullāh. He listened to Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn 'Uyaina, and al-Faḍl b. Mūsā. He is also known as al-Fārīd.<sup>2</sup>

### 3) Ibn Abī Hātim al-Rāzī says:

Nu'aim b. Hammād, Abu 'Abdullāh, al-Marwazī, al-Khuzā'ī, one-eyed, known as al-Fārīd, lived in Egypt. He reports from 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Khālid, 'Īsā b. 'Ubaid and Abū Hamza al-Sukrī. He listened to only one ḥadīth from Ibrāhīm b. Taḥmān. He also listened from Yaḥyā b. Hamza, Ibn al-Mubārak and Ibn 'Uyaina.

My father narrated from him; 'Abd al-Raḥmān told me that he heard my father saying so. I asked him about Nu'aim: he said, "He is truthful." I asked him, "Which one is more beloved to you: Nu'aim b. Hammād or 'Abda b. Sulaimān?" He said, "They are very similar to each other."<sup>3</sup>

### 4) Ibn 'Adī says:

Aḥmad b. Shu'aib said, "He is weak when reporting from Ibn al-Mubārak."

It is said that he used to fabricate aḥādīth in order to support the Sunnah and stories slandering Abū Ḥanīfa, which are all a pack of lies.

Abū Yaḥyā said, "I heard Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal) and Yaḥyā (b. Ma'īn) saying that Nu'aim was known to be a seeker of knowledge. But Yaḥyā then criticised him by saying that he used to report from non-trustworthy authorities. I heard Abū 'Arūba saying, 'Nu'aim was clouded by darkness'."

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said, "He was one of the trustworthy authorities." He also said, "Nu'aim b. Hammād came to us and accompanied us in search of knowledge for *al-Musnad*."

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-'Albasī heard Nu'aim b. Hammād saying, "I saw the Prophet (S.A.S) in a dream. He said to me, 'O Nu'aim, are you the one who fragments my aḥādīth?' I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh! I place them (carefully), each in its chapter' - the Messenger kept silent."

Similarly, Ibn Salama reported from Nu'aim b. Hammād that he said, "I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh! Aḥādīth are reported to us from you on diverse issues. Should I place everything in its chapter?' He kept silent."



Ibn Abī Muṣ‘ab said, "The house of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād al-Fārīd was by the water, in the locality named after Abū Ḥamza al-Sukkarī. He compiled books refuting Abū Ḥanīfa and argued against Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. He wrote thirteen books in refutation of the Jahmiyya, and was among the most knowledgeable persons about *Farā'id* (i.e. the knowledge of inheritance)."

Ibn al-Mubārak said, "Nu‘aim came with terrible matters. He wanted to nullify marriages that had already been solemnised and transactions that had been made; some people adopted his opinions. Then he came to Egypt, where he stayed for more than forty years. The people learnt and reported from him. Later, he was taken to ‘Irāq in chains over the issue of the Qur‘ān and its creation, along with al-Buwaiṭī. Nu‘aim died in the camp at Surra-man-Ra‘ā in the year twenty seven."

This is what Ibn al-Mubārak said, but Nu‘aim actually died in the year twenty nine.

Ibn Ḥammād said, "Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād fabricated this ḥadīth", referring to the following:

Ibn Ḥammād === ‘Iṣām b. Rawwād === Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād === ‘Īsā b. Yūnus --- Jarīr b. ‘Uthmān --- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubair b. Nufair --- his father --- ‘Auf b. Mālīk, who said that he heard the Prophet (S.A.S) saying,

"The Israelites were divided into seventy factions. My people will exceed that by one. There will be no one more harmful to my people than those who apply analogy in the matter of religion with their own opinions, declaring lawful through it something which had been prohibited by Allāh, and vice versa."

Ibn ‘Adī then cites another eight aḥādīth which were reported through Nu‘aim only and were not supported by other traditionists. This is why they were not considered authentic. The last of them is as follows, with his concluding comments:

‘Abd al-Malik === Abū l-Aḥwas === Nu‘aim === al-Faḍl b. Mūsā === Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī --- Shahr b. Ḥaushab --- Ibn ‘Abbās who said,

"The Prophet (S.A.S) offered a choice to his wives, and they opted for him. It was not a matter of divorce."

This is also not preserved; Nu‘aim had others beside this. Some people praise him while some others declare him to be weak. He used to be very

strict in the matters of the Sunna. He died while in prison due to the issue of the Qur'ān.

I have mentioned most of what is criticized (about Nu'aim). I hope that the rest of his aḥādīth are acceptable.<sup>4</sup>

5) . ...Khaṭīb says:

Al-Marwazī said, "I heard Abū 'Abdullāh saying, 'Nu'aim b. Ḥammād came to us while we were discussing the *muqatta'āt* (i.e. the sayings of the Companions and Successors). He said to us, "Have you accumulated the aḥādīth of the Messenger of Allāh ?"; from that day, we began acquiring the ḥadīth.'

It is said that the first one to collect a *Musnad* and compile it was Nu'aim."

Aḥmad said, "Nu'aim was the scribe of Abū 'Iṣma (Nūḥ), who was a strict opponent of the Jahmiyya and the people of innovation. Nu'aim learnt from him."

Ṣalīḥ b. Mismār said, "I heard Nu'aim b. Ḥammād saying, 'I used to be a Jahmī, so I came to know their arguments. But when I began to collect aḥādīth, I knew that the Jahmiyya are close to *Ta'tīl* (i.e. negating the attributes of Allāh)."

'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Ḥibbān says, "I found among the works of my father, with his own hand-writing, the following:

"Abū Zakariyya said, "Nu'aim is trustworthy and truthful, a true man. I am the closest one to know him - he used to be my companion at Baṣra. He wrote fifty thousand aḥādīth from Rauḥ. I said to him before he left Egypt, 'What are these aḥādīth which you have taken from al-'Asqalānī ?'

He said to me, 'O Abū Zakariyya, a man like you poses me such questions?'

I said, 'I say this just to save you.'

He replied, 'I used to have some copies which were spoiled by water; this is how some sayings were lost. So I used to check any word which was dubious to me with his books: if it was similar to my writing, I knew it was correct. As for copying anything from him, by Allāh with whom there is none to be worshipped, I never copied anything from him'."

Abū Zakariyya said, "Then his cousin came to us with the original copies from Khurāsān."

He was, however, prone to uncertainty, and this led to mistakes.  
But he himself is truthful.' ”

Aḥmad al-‘Ijlī said, "Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād, a Marwazī, is trustworthy."

Another ḥadīth which has been criticized is the one reported by him === Ibn al-Mubārak --- Ma‘mar --- al-Zuhrī --- Muḥammed b. Jubair, who heard ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ saying,

“The world will not come to an end until a man from Qaḥṭān rules it.”  
So Mu‘āwiya said, “What is this? I heard the Messenger of Allāh saying, ‘That matter will remain with the Quraish; Allāh would cause anyone who opposed them to fall on his face’.”

Shu‘ba reported it from al-Zuhrī and said, "Muḥammed b. Jubair used to narrate it (by way of saying *ḥaddathanā*) from Mu‘āwiya from the Prophet regarding the rulers."

Sāliḥ Jazra and al-Zuhrī said, "If he says that so-and-so is narrating by way of *Taḥdīth*, it will not be regarded as equal to hearing it."

He then said, "Nu‘aim reported it --- Ibn al-Mubārak --- Ma‘mar --- al-Zuhrī ... This ḥadīth has no foundation at all, and is not known from Ibn al-Mubārak ... I do not know from where Nu‘aim got it. He used to narrate from his memory. He has a lot of *munkar* aḥādīth which are not supported by other sources. I heard Ibn Ma‘īn saying when he was asked about him, 'He is of no value in Ḥadīth. But he is respected among the *Ahl al-Sunna* ...'"

Al-Nasāī said, "He is not trustworthy."  
On another occasion, he said, "He is weak."

Abū l-Qāsim al-Baghawī, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Arafa Niftwaih and Ibn ‘Adī said, "He died in the year twenty nine."

Niftwaih added: "He was chained and imprisoned because of his refusal to say that the Qur‘ān is a created word. He was dragged in chains and thrown into a pit. He was not shrouded, nor did anyone pray over him except a friend of Ibn Abī Dāwūd (i.e. Caliph Mu‘taṣim)."<sup>5</sup>

## 6) Dhahabī says:

Al-Bukhārī reported from him as a supporter (to a narration). Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja also reported from him. He is one of the foremost Imāms, with slight weakness in his aḥādīth.



He reports in his books from Ibrāhīm b. Taḥmān, Abū Hamza al-Sukkārī, 'Isā b. 'Ubaid al-Kindī, Ibn al-Mubārak, Hushaim, al-Darāwardī and a host of others, and he did see Ḥusain b. Wāqid. Among those who report from him are Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, al-Dhuhālī, al-Dārimī, Abū Zur'a and others. The last of them was Hamza b. Muḥammad al-Kātib.

He was very strongly-opposed to the *Jahmiyya*; he took this from his scribe, Nūḥ al-Jāmi'. Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār said that he heard Nu'aim saying, "I was a Jahmī, so I knew their arguments, but when I acquired the knowledge of Ḥadīth, I came to realize that they were close to *Ta'tīl*."

Ḥusain b. Ḥibbān said that he heard Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn saying, "Nu'aim is the first one to hear (aḥādīth). He is truthful. I know him best because he was my companion at Baṣra. He wrote fifty thousand ḥadīth from Rauḥ b. 'Ubāda."

Aḥmad and Ibn Ma'īn also declared him to be trustworthy.

Aḥmad al-'Ijlī said, "He is truthful and trustworthy."

Abū Dāwūd said, "Nu'aim b. Ḥammād had about twenty aḥādīth from the Prophet S.A.S. which had no foundation at all."

... Nasā'ī said, "He is weak."

Hāfiẓ Abū 'Alī al-Naisābūrī said that he heard al-Nasā'ī mentioning Nu'aim b. Ḥammād and his advanced status in knowledge and the Sunna... He was then queried about the validity of his ḥadīth. He replied, "He is so often alone in reporting from the Imāms that he is similar to those who are not accepted."

Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī said, "I related a ḥadīth to Duḥaim which Nu'aim had reported to us --- al-Walīd b. Muslim --- Ibn Jābir --- Ibn Zakariyya --- Rāja b. Haiwa --- al-Nawwās b. Sam'ān: 'When Allāh speaks of the revelation....'

Duḥaim said, 'It has no foundation at all'."

Another ḥadīth of Nu'aim is: === Ibn Wahb === 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith --- Sa'id b. Abī Hilāl --- Marwān b. 'Uthmān --- 'Umāra b. 'Āmir --- Umm Tufail who said that she heard the Prophet saying, "I saw my Lord, in the best of forms, like a noble young man; his feet in green, having shoes of gold."

On hearing this Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Nasā’ī said, "Who is Marwān to be accepted (in narrating) about Allāh?"

Ibn ‘Adī has given a number of aḥādīth which were reported through Nu‘aim only.

Ibn Yūnus said, "He used to understand (يَفْهَمُ) [or he used to be ambiguous (يُبْجَسُ) in] ḥadīth. He reported *munkar* aḥādīth from trustworthy authorities."

His death occurred at the end of the ninth or the seventh year. The former is correct.<sup>6</sup>

1. Dhahabī says elsewhere:

Nu‘aim b. al-Ḥārith b. Hammām b. Salama b. Mālik, the Imām, the ‘Allāma, the Ḥāfiẓ, Abū ‘Abdullāh al-Khuzā‘ī, al-Marwazī, al-Faradī, the one-eyed, compiler of many books.

He has seen . . . Husain b. Wāqid al-Marwazī.

He narrates from Abū Hamza al-Sukkari, who is the eldest of his *shuyūkh*, Hushaim, Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh, Ibrāhīm b. Taḥmān (a single ḥadīth only), ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mubārak, ‘Isā b. ‘Ubaid al-Kindī, who is one of his great *shuyūkh*, ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. Khālīd al-Ḥanafī, Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam, Yaḥyā b. Hamza al-Qādī, ‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb, ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Darāwardī, Fuḍail b. ‘Iyād, Sufyān b. ‘Uyaina, Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d, Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Baqiyya b. al-Walīd, Mu‘tamir b. Sulaimān, Abū Mu‘āwiya, Rishdīn b. Sa‘ad, Ḥafṣ b. Giyāth, Ibn Wahb, Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, al-Walīd b. Muslim, Wakī‘, Ibn Idrīs, Nūḥ b. Qais, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, and many others at Khurāsān, Makka, Madīna, ‘Irāq, Syria, Yemen and Egypt; there is dispute about the strength of his narration.

The following report from him: al-Bukhārī (as a supporter to another reporter), Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja (through one intervening reporter), Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ḥulwānī, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dhuhālī, Muḥammad b. ‘Auf, al-Ramādī, Abū Muḥammad al-Dārimī, Sammūya, Abū l-Dardā ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Munīb, Ya‘qūb al-Farawī, Abū l-Aḥwas al-‘Ukbarī, Bakr b. Sahl al-Dimyātī and many others, the last of which to die was a young writer who happened to be with him in prison, Hamza b. Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-Baghdādī.

Al-Maimūnī reported Aḥmad as saying, "Nu‘aim b. Hammād was the first one we know to compile a *Musnad*."



Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Junaid reports that he heard Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn saying, when he was asked about Nu‘aim, "He is trustworthy."

So he said, "Some people claim that he corrected his books from ‘Alī al-Khurāsānī al-‘Asqalānī."

Yaḥyā replied, "I asked him about that, saying, ‘Did you take the books of ‘Alī al-Saidalāmī and correct from them?’"

He showed his resentment and said, ‘My collection was spoiled, so I looked in them and whatever I recognized and agreed with my books, I edited appropriately’."

‘Abbās b. Muḥammad reports Ibn Ma‘īn as saying, "We visited Nu‘aim b. Hammād in Egypt. He started reading from one of his books; he read for an hour and then said, ‘Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us a number of aḥādīth from Ibn ‘Awn.’"

I said, ‘This one is not from Ibn al-Mubārak.’

He became angry and said to me, ‘Are you disputing me?’

I said, ‘By Allāh, I am querying you because I want something glorious for you.’

However, he refused to withdraw, so I said, ‘No, By Allāh, you have never heard it from Ibn al-Mubārak, nor did he ever hear it from Ibn ‘Awn.’

At this, he became enraged, as did those that were with him from among the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*. He stood up to bring forth some manuscripts, and then started saying, ‘Where are those who claim that Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn is not the Chief of the Believers in the field of Ḥadīth? Yes, O Abū Zakariyya, I have been mistaken. There were some other documents which I confused with others as I started writing the aḥādīth of Ibn al-Mubārak from Ibn ‘Awn. But, truly speaking, someone other than Ibn al-Mubārak has reported them from Ibn ‘Awn’."

Our Shaikh Abū l-Ḥajjāj reported this story to us with a discontinued isnad by saying, "al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Naṣr al-Yunarti reported it with his isnād from Ibn ‘Abbās."

Abū Zur‘a al-Dimashqī said, "He joins aḥādīth which were held as *mauqūf* by others."

... Dhahabī comments on the ḥadīth concerning the Imāmate remaining among the tribe of Quraish, as given previously by ... Khaṭīb<sup>7</sup> by saying,

The ḥadīth of the rulers seems to be *gharīb* and *munkar* because the rule is no more in the hands of Quraish. The Prophet (S.A.S) only speaks the truth. A command, rather than a prediction, might have been meant by this ḥadīth. The ḥadīth has its origin from al-Zuhri. Nu‘aim may have taken it from Ibn al-Mubārak.



Nu'aim b. Hammād reports from Ibn al-Mubārak --- Ma'mar --- al-Zuhrī --- Anas that the Messenger of Allāh said at the beginning of Ramaḍān, "A purifying month has come to you...."

Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Qāsim b. 'Asākir mentioned it under *tarjama* of Nu'aim and declared it to be a sound ḥadīth as usual, saying, "The companions of al-Zuhrī reported this ḥadīth --- al-Zuhrī --- Ibn Abī Anas --- his father --- Abū Huraira."

I say: Nu'aim is mistaken in his isnād.

Nu'aim is the only one to report the following *munkar* ḥadīth: === Sufyān b. 'Uyaina --- Abū l-Zinād --- al-A'raj --- Abū Huraira who reported the Prophet as saying, "You are in a period when were someone to leave one-tenth of what he has been commanded to do, he would perish. A time will come upon my *Umma*. when were someone to act upon one-tenth of what he has been commanded to do, he would be saved."

I do not know from where Nu'aim took it. Nu'aim himself has said, "The people reject this ḥadīth. I was with Sufyān who showed dislike of something that he came across, and then he narrated this ḥadīth to me."

I say: He is fine in reporting whatever he heard from Sufyān. It appears to me - and Allāh knows best - that Sufyān may have said it on its own, without an isnād. The isnād he did give may have been for the ḥadīth he was about to narrate, but he was interrupted by something he disliked. Having lost his train of thought, he may have then quoted a separate text. Unaware of this, Nu'aim took the isnād to refer to that text. Allāh knows best.

Dhahabī, following Ibn 'Adī, cited eight other aḥādīth of Nu'aim which were rejected by the traditionists.

Ibn Hibbān mentioned him among the trustworthy names and then remarked, "He sometimes makes mistakes and speculates."

I say: No one should quote him regarding authentication of ḥadīth, for he compiled *Kitāb al-Fitan*, in which he reported strange events and *munkar* aḥādīth.<sup>8</sup>

Dhahabī added in *Tadhkiratal-Huffāz*,

"He is one of the founts of knowledge but is not suitable for authentication."<sup>9</sup>

7) Ibn Ḥajar cites the discussion between Yahyā b. Maʿīn and Nuʿaim in which the latter admitted his mistake. He then quotes Abu Naṣr al-Yunartī (the narrator of this episode) as saying, "This proves how trustworthy Nuʿaim was and how honestly he used to accept the truth."

About the ḥadīth of ʿAuf b. Mālik he comments:

This is actually the ḥadīth of Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr (meaning that isnād of this ḥadīth is *maqlūb*, i.e. the isnād of one ḥadīth has been grafted to another.)

Abū Zurʿa said, "I asked Ibn Maʿīn about this ḥadīth. He did not approve it. I said to him, 'Then from where did Nuʿaim get it?' He replied, 'It has become confused with him'."

Because of this ḥadīth, Nuʿaim became low in the eyes of many scholars. Anyway, Yahyā did not accuse him of lying, but only of speculating. Muslima b. Qāsim said, "He was truthful, but with many mistakes. He has a lot of *munkar* aḥādīth regarding the *fitan* which he is the only one to report. He had an abominable opinion about the Qurʾān. He used to believe that the Qurʾān was of two kinds: the one in *al-Lauh al-Mahfūz* (The Preserved Tablet) is the Word of Allāh, while the one which is in the hands of the people is created."

It seems that he meant by this that that which is in the hands of the people, recited by them and written by their hands, is created. Without doubt, the ink, the paper, the writer, the reciter and his voice are all created things. As for the Words of Allāh, they are not created at all.

... Dāraqutnī said, "He is an Imām in the Sunnah, but with much speculation."

Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim said, "He could be opposed in some of his aḥādīth."<sup>10</sup>

## Comments

After a perusal of all the remarks mentioned above, it becomes quite clear that the disparaging remarks about Nuʿaim b. Ḥammād outnumber those authenticating him, despite his being held as absolutely trustworthy by Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Aḥmad and ... ʿIjlī. In fact, some traditionists who declared him trustworthy, such as Yahyā b. Maʿīn and Ibn Ḥibbān, nevertheless mentioned also that he speculated a lot in matters of Ḥadīth. Nuʿaim himself admitted on more than one occasion that he erred while reporting from Ibn al-Mubārak and

Sufyān b. ‘Uyaina. According to Abū Zur‘a, Nu‘aim sometimes declared *mauqūf* narrations (reported from Companions) to be *marfū‘* (on the authority of the Prophet SAS), while Ibn ‘Adī cited eight aḥadīth reported by Nu‘aim which were spurious. He has been criticised especially heavily regarding his aḥadīth about the *fitan*, such as by Dhahabī and Muslima b. Qāsim.

Owing to the above, according to the way of the traditionists, Nu‘aim b. Hammād is to be discarded completely if he is the only reporter of a certain narration. However, his hadīth is acceptable if it is supported by another renowned traditionist.

---

### REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER THREE, SECTION A

- <sup>1</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, 7:519.
- <sup>2</sup> Bukhārī, *al-Tarīkh al-Kabīr*, 4:100.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, 8:463.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibn ‘Adī, *al-Kāmil fī Du‘afā al-Rijāl*, 7:2482 - 2485.
- <sup>5</sup> Khatīb, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, 13:306
- <sup>6</sup> Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I‘tidāl*, 4:267-271
- <sup>7</sup> Passim.
- <sup>8</sup> Dhahabī, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā*, 9:595-612
- <sup>9</sup> Dhahabī: *Tadhkira al-Huffāz*, 2:420
- <sup>10</sup> Ibn Ḥajar: *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 10:458-463



## SECTION B

(Ḥadīth nos. 1-20)

### Ḥadīth 1 (Mu'āwiya creating a state)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- Abū 'Abdullāh --- al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Mu'aitī --- Abān b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ait --- Ibn 'Abbās.

#### Discussion

Al-Walīd (b. Muslim) is known to be a *mudallis*;<sup>1</sup> It has already been stated that such a person who relates by way of 'an is not acceptable.

The other two reporters, Abū 'Abdullāh and Abān b. al-Walid, are unknown.

Al-Walīd b. Hishām is declared to be *majhūl* (unknown) by al-Dhahabī.<sup>2</sup>

Hence, this narration with such reporters is weak (*da'īf*).

### Ḥadīth 2 (Black flags approaching from the east.)

Isnād: Nu'aim === a man --- Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Kūfī --- Salama b. Majnūn === Abū Huraira.

#### Discussion

The shaikh of Nu'aim is totally unknown.

About Dāwūd, Ibn Ma'īn said, "He is not trustworthy; he lies."<sup>3</sup>

..Bukhārī said, "He reports munkar aḥādīth."<sup>4</sup>

..Nasā'ī said, "He is ignored."<sup>5</sup>

About Salama b. Majnūn, al-Dhahabī says, "He is not known as a reporter from Ibn 'Abbās. But Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, one of the doomed reporters (\_\_\_\_\_ هَكَذَا) narrates a ḥadīth from him about black flags."<sup>6</sup>

This isnād contains one ambiguous and two weak reporters. Thus, this ḥadīth is very weak (*da'īf jiddan*).

### **Hadith 3** (Black flags appearing on the hand of the Sufyānī.)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Abū 'Abdullāh al-Tihartī al-Taimī --- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'am --- Muslim b. Yasār --- Sa'id b. al-Musayyib === The Prophet.

#### **Discussion**

No mention of al-Tihartī is found in the books of *Rijāl*.

As for 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as the Qādī of Africa, the traditionists have different opinions. Al-Bukhārī, Yaḥyā b. Sa'd and Abū Dāwūd hold a good opinion about him, but a majority of traditionists such as Ibn Mahdī, Ibn 'Adī, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, al-Fallās, Aḥmad, Ḥ. Nasā'ī and Ḥ. Dāraquṭnī disparage him strongly; Ibn Ḥibbān goes to the extent of saying that he used to report fabricated aḥādīth.<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ḥajar gives the reason for the disparaging remarks, saying that he was weak in his memory.<sup>8</sup> The traditionists give precedence to disparaging remarks over the authenticating ones if the reason is known.

Hence, this ḥadīth is very weak (*da'īf jiddan*).

### **Hadith 4** (Condemning Banū Umayya and Banū 'Abbās)

**Isnād** Nu'aim === 'Abdullāh b. Marwān === Muḥammad b. Sawwār --- 'Ubaidullāh b. al-Walīd --- Muḥammad b. 'Alī === The Prophet.

#### **Discussion**

'Abdullāh b. Marwān, the shaikh of Nu'aim, is held to be trustworthy by Sulaimān but disparaging remarks made against him are very strong: Ibn 'Adī said, "His aḥādīth should be looked at with a critical eye"; Ibn Ḥibbān said, "He is not suitable to be used as evidence."<sup>9</sup>

Muḥammad b. Sawwār is not mentioned in the books of *Rijāl*.

‘Ubaidullāh b. al-Walīd is declared weak by Aḥmad, Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn and Abū Ḥātim.<sup>10</sup> He is labelled as *matrūk* (abandoned) by al-Fallās.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, the ḥadīth is weak (*da‘īf*).

### Ḥadīth 5 (Black flags approaching from the East)

Isnad: Nu‘aim === ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān --- Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir === Tubai‘ --- Ka‘b.

### Discussion

Apart from ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān (cf. Ḥadīth 4), the reporters seem to be authentic.

Arṭāt is a trustworthy Successor.<sup>12</sup>

Tubai‘ al-Ḥimyārī is the son of Ka‘b's wife, and had a good knowledge of the previous scriptures.<sup>13</sup>

Ka‘b needs to be introduced in detail:

Ka‘b b. Māti‘ al-Ḥimyārī, Abū Ishāq, is known as Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, a trustworthy reporter who lived for more than one hundred years. He was a contemporary of the Prophet but did not meet him (such a person is known as *mukhaḍram*). He lived in Yemen and then moved to Syria, where he died in the last days of ‘Uthmān's caliphate.

Bukhārī transmits none of his narrations except a story about Mu‘āwiya. Muslim reports only once from him through Abū Huraira.<sup>14</sup>

Mu‘āwiya said, "We did not see, among the traditionists of the People of the Book, anyone better than Ka‘b, but we sometimes found lies on his part."

After quoting the above statement, al-Albānī comments, "We do not accept the *mursal* aḥādīth of even the best of the Successors such as ‘Aṭā’, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Abū l-‘Āliya whereas only one or two links may be missing between them and the Prophet, so what about the narrations of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, who reports from such prophets whom, between him and them there are no less than one thousand years!"<sup>15</sup>



Thus, we can only accept the narration of Ka'b if it comes through a good isnād. In this case, it is not an authentic one because of 'Abdullāh b. Marwān. So the ḥadīth is undoubtedly weak (*da'īf*).

#### Hadīth 6 (The Mahdi will come after the caliphate of Banū 'Abbās)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh --- 'Abd al-Salām b. Maslama -- Abū Qābil.

#### Discussion

Both Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh and his shaikh, 'Abd al-Salām, are unknown.

Abū Qābil, Huyay b. Hāni al-Mu'āfirī, is a Successor who is described by Ibn Hajar a truthful person, but prone to speculations.<sup>16</sup>

The ḥadīth, which is saying of a Successor, is weak (*da'īf*) because of the two unknown reporters.

#### Hadīth 7 (Division among the holders of black flags)

Isnād Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- Abū 'Abda al-Mashja'ī --- Abū Umayya al-Kalbī === an old man.

#### Discussion

The ambiguous identity of the old man leaves no need for scrutinising the remaining reporters, given already the *tadlīs* of al-Walīd (cf. Ḥadīth 1).

Therefore, the ḥadīth is very weak (*da'īf jiddan*).

#### Hadīth 8 (The infidelity of the seventh 'Abbāsīd caliph)

Isnād : Nu'aim === Abū 'Amr al-Baṣrī --- Ibn Lahī'a --- 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Husain --- Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Bunanī --- his father--al-Hārith al-Hamdānī --- Ibn Mas'ūd --- the Prophet.

## Discussion

This isnād includes a host of weak reporters.

Abū ‘Amr is not known.

Ibn Lahī‘a has always been a disputed authority. He is considered acceptable by ‘Abdullāh b. Wahb, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Laith. Disparaging remarks about him are made by Ibn Ma‘īn, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, Ibn Mahdī, Aḥmad, al-Fallās, Abū Zur‘a, ... Nasā‘ī, Abū Ḥātim, Aḥmad b. Zuhair, ... Jauzajānī and Ibn Ḥibbān.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān gave the following reasons for this by saying, "‘Abdullāh b. Lahī‘a, the Qāḍī of Egypt, was born in 96 AH and died in 174 AH. He was a pious person, but used to narrate by way of *tadlīs* from weak reporters. Later his books caught fire: our people used to say that whoever heard narrations from him before his books caught fire, such as the four ‘Abdullāhs (referring to Ibn Wahb, Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī and Ibn Maslama al-Qa‘nabī) is fine for reporting from."<sup>18</sup>

As for ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ḥusain<sup>19</sup>, Muḥammad b. Thābit<sup>20</sup>, and al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdullāh al-A‘war<sup>21</sup>, they are all described as weak.

Thus this ḥadīth is very weak (*da‘īf jiddan*).

## Hadīth 9 (Two disputes among Banū ‘Abbās)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān --- Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir --- someone --- Ka‘b.

## Discussion

This Ḥadīth is weak (*da‘īf*) because of ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān (cf. Ḥadīth 4) and the ambiguous reporter from whom Arṭāt reports. Furthermore, it is a saying of Ka‘b.

## Hadīth 10 (The Mahdi's coming after corrupt rule of the ‘Abbāsids)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Abū Yūsuf al-Maqdisī al-Kūfī === Fiṭr b. Khalīfa --- Mundhir al-Thaurī --- Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.

## Discussion

Abū Yūsuf al-Maqdisī is not mentioned in the books of *Rijāl*.

Fiṭr b. Khalīfa draws contradictory remarks. He is held trustworthy by Aḥmad, Abū Ḥātim, Ibn Sa'd, Yaḥyā and ---Nasā'ī. However, he is strongly criticized by ---Dāraquṭnī, Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh and ---Jauzajānī.

Aḥmad b. Yūnus said, "I ignore him as (one would) a dog."

He is known as a staunch Shi'ite.<sup>22</sup>

It has already been quoted that the narration of an innovator (*mubtadi'*) will not be accepted if he narrates something which supports his claim.

This narration, without any doubt, supports the view of the Shi'ites. Hence this ḥadīth is not acceptable (*ghair maqbūl*).

## Hadīth 11 (The emergence of the Mahdi after the death of the seventh one)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Ibn Abī Huraira --- his father --- 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥa --- Ibn 'Abbās --- The Prophet.

## Discussion

There is no mention of either Abū Huraira (not the companion of the Prophet) or his son in the books of Ḥadīth.

As for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥa, he did not see Ibn 'Abbās; he reports from him by way of *Irsāl*. Aḥmad remarked, "He reports *munkar* sayings."<sup>23</sup>

Thus this ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

## Hadīth 12 (Al-Sufyānī fighting the Turks)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi' --- Jarrāḥ --- Arṭāt.

## Discussion

Both al-Ḥakam<sup>24</sup> and al-Jarrāḥ<sup>25</sup> are considered trustworthy.

The only disputed authority is Nu'aim. Owing to the existence of both authenticating and disparaging remarks, as shown in the *tarjama* of Nu'aim, it



can safely be said that his narration would be acceptable if it came through another source; this is not the case with this ḥadīth. Hence, it is weak (*ḍaʿīf*).

### Hadīth 13 (A sign from the sky)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === al-Walīd --- his shaikh --- Zuhri.

#### Discussion

The ḥadīth is weak (*ḍaʿīf*) because of al-Walīd, who reports by way of *tadlīs*, and the ambiguity of his shaikh.

### Hadīth 14 (The appearance of a star with a tail)

Isnād: Nuʿaim --- al-Walīd, who said, "it was conveyed to me that Kaʿb said ..."

#### Discussion

The ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍaʿīf jiddan*) because the reporters between Walīd and Kaʿb are missing, in addition to the *tadlīs* of al-Walīd.

### Hadīth 15 (An announcement from heaven)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === Ibn al-Mubārak and ʿAbd al-Razzāq --- Maʿmar --- a man --- Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib.

#### Discussion

The ḥadīth is weak (*ḍaʿīf*) because Nuʿaim is considered unreliable whenever he reports from Ibn al-Mubārak (cf. his *tarjama*, section A) and because of the ambiguity surrounding the identity of the shaikh of Maʿmar.

### **Hadīth 16** (Three non-‘Arab towns as shelter from Sufyānī)

**Isnād:** same as no. 8 above, which is very weak (*ḍa‘īf jiddan*).

### **Hadīth 17** (People with black and yellow flags)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān --- Sa‘īd b. Yazīd al-Tanūkhī --- Zuhri.

#### **Discussion**

This ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*) because of ‘Abdullāh (cf. Ḥadīth 5) and Sa‘īd b. Yazīd, who is not mentioned in the books of Ḥadīth.

### **Hadīth 18** (People of black and yellow flags meeting each other)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān --- his father --- ‘Amr b. Shu‘aib --- his father --- ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr.

#### **Discussion**

‘Abdullāh b. Marwān has already been mentioned. His father, Marwān b. Mu‘āwiya al-Kūfī, is a trustworthy authority, but used to report by way of *tadlīs* with regard to the names of his shaikhs.<sup>26</sup>

There has been much discussion about the validity of the aḥādīth of ‘Amr, who always reports through his father on the authority of his (the father's) grandfather. In order to understand who reports from whom, we refer to his family lineage which is as follows: ‘Amr b. Shu‘aib b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās (the Companion). Muḥammad, the father of Shu‘aib, died at a young age and Shu‘aib was left in the custody of his grandfather ‘Abdullāh, so his reporting from him is understandable.

...Bukhārī transmits ‘Amr's aḥādīth in other than his *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection; al-Ḥumaidī, Aḥmad, Ishāq and ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh used to accept his aḥādīth; Ishāq b. Rāhawaih said, "His chain of ḥadīth is just like: Ayyūb --- Nāfi' --- Ibn ‘Umar."<sup>27</sup> Al-Albānī regards his aḥādīth as *ḥasan*.<sup>28</sup>

However, the ḥadīth under discussion remains weak (*ḍa'īf*) because of 'Abdullāh b. Marwān.

### Hadīth 19 (The period between the black flags and the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- Abū 'Abdullāh --- 'Abd al-Karīm --- Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.

#### Discussion

In this isnād, al-Walīd is a *mudallis*.

Abū 'Abdullāh is unknown.

As for 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abū l-Mukhariq, he is labelled as "left out" by Aḥmad, al-Nasā'ī and al-Dāraquṭnī. Al-Bukhārī reports from him by way of *ta'liq* and Muslim by way of *mutāba'a*.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, the ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

### Hadīth 20 (The length of the Sufyānī's rule)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd --- Sulaimān b. 'Īsā who said, "It reached me ..."

#### Discussion

Yaḥyā b. Sa'd al-'Attār is declared weak by Ibn Ma'īn, "not suitable as evidence" by Ibn Khuzaima, and "very weak" by Ibn 'Adī.<sup>30</sup>

Sulaimān b. 'Īsā b. Nujaiḥ al-Sijizzī is labelled as a liar by al-Jauzajānī, Abū Ḥātim and Ibn 'Adī.<sup>31</sup>

To add to the weakness of the ḥadīth, Sulaimān b. 'Īsā does not disclose his immediate authority; he merely says, "It reached me ..."

Thus, this ḥadīth is fabricated (*maudū'*).



---

## **REFERENCES FOR SECTION B**

- <sup>1</sup>DHM, 4:347  
<sup>2</sup>DHM, 4:349  
<sup>3</sup>DHM, 2:10  
<sup>4</sup>BTS, p. 192  
<sup>5</sup>ND, p. 289  
<sup>6</sup>DHM, 4:536  
<sup>7</sup>DHM, 2:561  
<sup>8</sup>ATQ, p. 340  
<sup>9</sup>DHM, 2:502; IHD, 2:39  
<sup>10</sup>AHK, 5:336  
<sup>11</sup>DHM, 3:17  
<sup>12</sup>HTQ, p. 97; HTH, 1:198  
<sup>13</sup>HTQ, p. 130  
<sup>14</sup>HTQ, p. 461  
<sup>15</sup> Al-Albānī: *Takhrīj Aḥādīth Faḍā'il al-Shām wa Dimashq*, p. 54  
<sup>16</sup> BD, p. 123-147; HTQ, p. 185; HTH, 3:72  
<sup>17</sup> DHM, 2:475 - 483  
<sup>18</sup> ibid  
<sup>19</sup> HL, 4:87  
<sup>20</sup> HTQ, p. 470; HTH, 9:83  
<sup>21</sup> HTQ, p. 146; DHM, 1:435  
<sup>22</sup> HTQ, p. 448; HTH, 8:300; DHM, 3:363; AHK, 4:1:139  
<sup>23</sup> DHM, 3:134; HTQ, p. 402; HTH, 7:339  
<sup>24</sup> HTQ, p. 564  
<sup>25</sup> HTQ, p. 138  
<sup>26</sup> HTQ, p. 526  
<sup>27</sup> DHM, 3:263-268  
<sup>28</sup> LSS, 1:92 & 4:97  
<sup>29</sup> HTQ, p. 361; HTH, 6:376; DHM, 2:646; DHK, 2:206  
<sup>30</sup> DHM, 4:379  
<sup>31</sup> DHM, 2:218; HTH, 1:212; HL, 3:99

## SECTION C (Nos. 21-40)

### Hadīth 21 (Description of the Sufyānī)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abd al-Quddūs and others --- Ibn ‘Ayyāsh --- someone who reported to him --- Muḥammad b. Ja‘far --- ‘Alī.

#### Discussion

This ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*); the weakness of this isnād is apparent from the ambiguity surrounding the shaikh of Ibn ‘Ayyāsh as well as the unknown identity of ‘Abd al-Quddūs, whose father's name is not given.

### Hadīth 22 (The Sufyānī's name is ‘Abdullāh)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān --- Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir --- some one who reported to him --- Ka‘b.

#### Discussion

As well as the weakness of ‘Abdullāh b. Marwān (see Ḥadīth nos. 5 & 9), the link is broken between Arṭāt and Ka‘b: thus, this isnād is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### Hadīth 23 (The Sufyānī kills the people of Banū Umayya)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī‘a --- Abū Qābil.

#### Discussion

A new reporter in this isnād is Rishdīn b. Sa‘d al-Miṣri, who died in 188. He is disparaged by Aḥmad, Ibn Ma‘īn, Abū Zur‘a, Jauzajānī, Nasāī and Abū Hātim.<sup>1</sup>

All these reporters, i.e. al-Walīd (see Ḥadīth no. 1), Rishdīn, and Ibn Lahī'a (see Ḥadīth no. 8), have been disparaged.

Thus this isnād is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

#### Ḥadīth 24 (The duration of the Sufyānī's rule)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī'a --- Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb.  
Ibn Lahī'a says === 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣālīh --- 'Ikrima --- Ibn 'Abbās.

#### Discussion

The weakness of Rishdīn (see no. 23) and Ibn Lahī'a (see No. 8) is enough to make this ḥadīth weak (*ḍa'īf*). Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, one of its reporters, is even accused of *Irsāl*.<sup>2</sup>

#### Ḥadīth 25 (Four leaders for the community)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Abū Qābīl --- Sa'īd b. al-Aswad --- Dhū Faranāt

#### Discussion

This isnād consists of several disparaged reporters: al-Walīd, Rishdīn, Ibn Lahī'a and Abū Qābīl (see Ḥadīth no. 6), who have already been discussed, as well as the unknown authorities Sa'īd b. al-Aswad and Dhū Faranāt. Hence it is a very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*) isnād which ends with an unknown person.

#### Ḥadīth 26 (The Sufyānī fights Banū Hāshim)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- his shaikh from Qudā'a --- Abū Wahb al-Kulā'i.

#### Discussion

Abū Wahb al-Kulā'i is a truthful person according to Ibn Ḥajar<sup>3</sup>, but the authority from whom al-Walīd reports is unknown. Furthermore, al-Walīd



himself is accused of *tadlīs*, and reports here by way of 'an. Hence, the ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa'īf*).

**Hadīth 27** (The Sufyānī enters Egypt and devastates it)

**Isnād:** Same as ḥadīth 19, which is weak (*ḍa'īf*).

**Hadīth 28** (A man from Banū 'Abbās enters Riqqa)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === 'Abdullāh b. Marwān --- someone who reported to him -  
-- Ya'qūb b. Ishāq.

**Discussion**

'Abdullāh b. Marwān is a disparaged reporter (see no. 5); his shaikh is unknown.

There are six reporters by the name of Ya'qūb b. Ishāq, as mentioned by al-Dhahabī, one out of whom might be the reporter of this narration; they are all strongly disparaged by the traditionists.

Thus, the ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

**Hadīth 29** (The Battle of Qarqīsa)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī'a --- Abū Qābil ---  
Abū Rumān --- 'Alī.

**Discussion**

The ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa'īf*) because of the three disparaged reporters: al-Walīd, Rishdīn and Ibn Lahī'a, all of whom have been discussed.

**Hadīth 30** (Atrocities committed by the Sufyānī)

**Isnād:** Same as no. 1, which is a weak (*ḍa'īf*) isnād.

### Hadīth 31 (The Sufyānī's advances towards Kūfa)

Isnād: Same as no. 12, which is a weak ḥadīth (*da'īf*).

### Hadīth 32 (Black flags hoisted by Shu'aib b. Ṣāliḥ)

Isnād: Same as no. 19, which is a weak (*da'īf*) isnād.

### Hadīth 33 (About some young men of Banū Hāshim)

Isnād: As well as Nu'aim, Ibn Māja and ... Hākim also reported this ḥadīth. Figure 1 gives the three asānīd.

### Discussion

Both Nu'aim and Ibn Māja<sup>4</sup> go back to Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād in their asānīd. ... Dhahabī<sup>5</sup> makes the following remarks about him:

One of the Kūfī scholars who is well-known for his bad memory.  
Yaḥyā said, "He is not strong. He is not good for use in argument."  
Ibn al-Mubārak said, "Cast him aside."  
Wakī' said, "The ḥadīth of the flags (with his isnād) is of no value."  
Aḥmad said, "His narration from Ibrāhīm regarding the flags is of no value."

Then, after quoting the whole ḥadīth, ... Dhahabī says,

This is not a correct saying. How fine is Abū Qudāma's statement, "I heard Abū Usāma saying about the ḥadīth of the flags as reported by Yazīd on the authority of Ibrāhīm, 'I will never believe him, even if he swears fifty times by way of *Qasāma*<sup>6</sup>. How can it be from Ibrāhīm or 'Alqama or 'Abdullāh ?'"

As for the isnād of ... Hākim, ... Dhahabī, in his explanatory notes on the former's *al-Mustadrak*, simply remarks, "This is fabricated (*maudū'*)."<sup>7</sup>

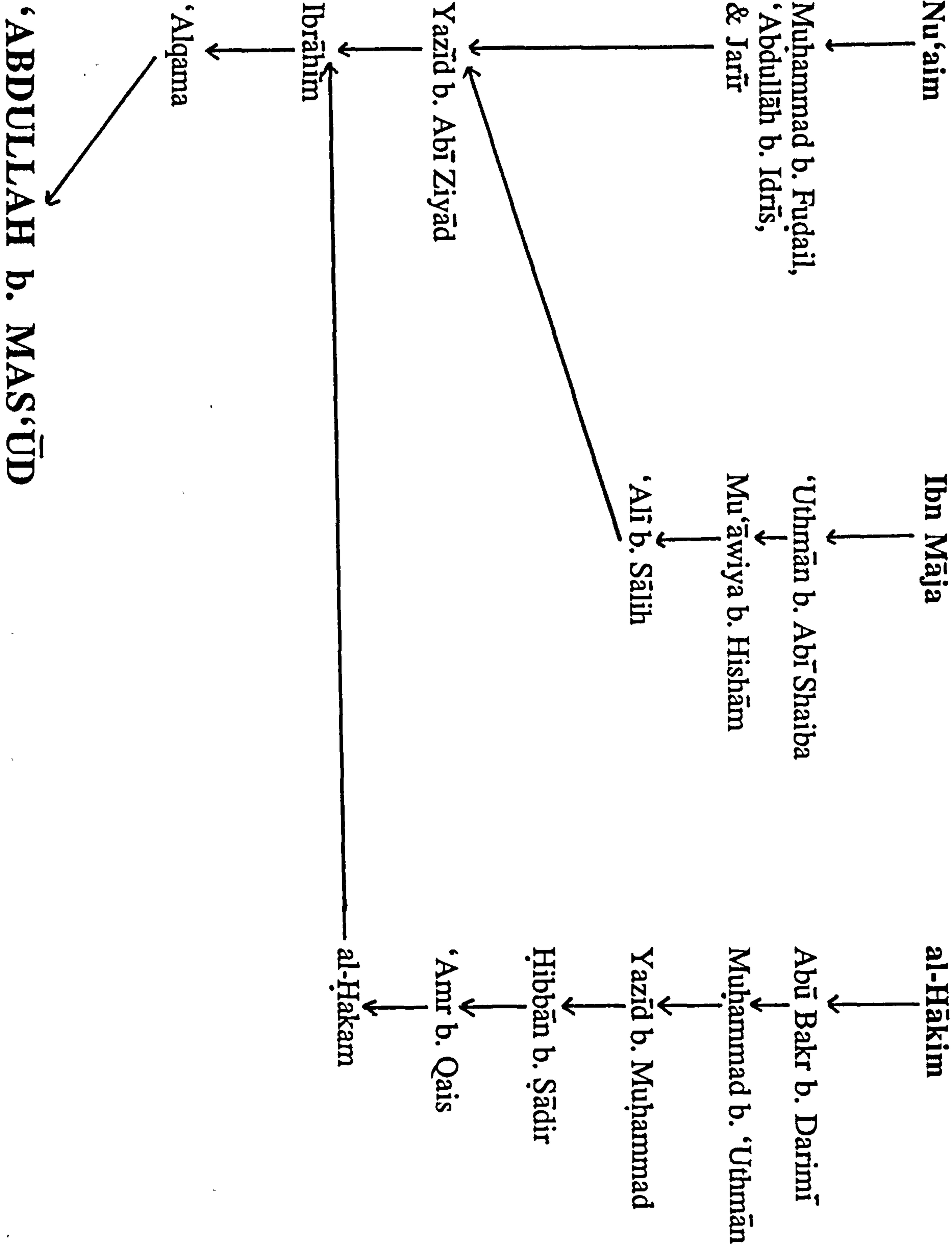


Figure 1: *Diagram showing the asānīd for Ḥadīth 33.*



### Hadīth 34 (The black flags from Khurāsān)

Isnād: This ḥadīth is transmitted by Nu‘aim<sup>8</sup>, al-Ḥākim<sup>9</sup>, Ibn Māja<sup>10</sup>, Aḥmad<sup>11</sup> and al-Baihaqī<sup>12</sup>. Figure 2 shows the various asānīd.

#### Discussion

Isnād of Nu‘aim: Through ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā, it goes back to Thaubān only, and not to the Prophet. There is no mention of Abū Asmā al-Rahabī, the link between Abū Qilāba and Thaubān.

Isnād of al-Ḥākim: It is through ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā like the isnād of Nu‘aim. It also goes back to Thaubān only but it identifies the link between Abū Qilābah and Thaubān.

Isnād of Ibn Māja: There is no missing authority in this isnād, which goes back to the Prophet. Furthermore, it contains two well-known traditionists, ‘Abd al-Razzāq and Sufyān al-Thaurī.

Isnād of Aḥmad: Through ‘Alī b. Zaid, it goes back to the Prophet as well, but, like the isnād of Nu‘aim, it omits the link between Abū Qilāba and Thaubān.

Isnād of al-Baihaqī: This is similar to that of Aḥmad with the difference that it identifies the link between Abū Qilāba and Thaubān.

The main points to note in assessing the authenticity of these asānīd are as follows:

A) The missing link between Abū Qilāba and Thaubān in the asānīd of Nu‘aim and Aḥmad is given in the asānīd of Ibn Mājah, al-Ḥākim and al-Baihaqī. This reporter is Abū Asmā al-Rahabī, ‘Amr b. Mirthad, who is known to be a trustworthy person.<sup>13</sup>

B) Abū Qilāba is said to be a *mudallis*. He is placed in the first category of *Mudallisīn* by Ibn Ḥajar,<sup>14</sup> so he can be acceptable, particularly when a number of people report from him.

C) Both Nu‘aim and al-Ḥākim depend upon ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā, Abū Naṣr al-Khaffāf, who is held as a weak authority by Aḥmad, al-Nasā’ī and Rāzī.<sup>15</sup>

D) Both Aḥmad and al-Baihaqī depend upon ‘Alī b. Zaid in their asānīd. al-Dhahabī mentions the isnād of Aḥmad under the *tarjama* of ‘Alī b. Zaid and remarks, "I see it as a *munkar* ḥadīth."<sup>16</sup>

E) The isnād of Ibn Mājah seems to be more sound than all other asānīd. The only defect comes from the fact that it contains a number of *Mudallisīn* while the ḥadīth is narrated by way of ‘an: ‘Abd al-Razzāq used to practise *tadlīs*; al-Thaurī is in the second category of *Mudallisīn*.<sup>17</sup>

As for Khālid (b. Mihrān al-Hadhdhā’), the authenticating remarks about him outweigh the disparaging ones.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Albānī<sup>19</sup> supports al-Dhahabī in declaring this ḥadīth *munkar*. The reason given by al-Albānī is the *tadlīs* of Abū Qilāba as he narrates by way of ‘an. According to al-Albānī, the general meaning of this ḥadīth is verified without the addition of the phrase "Khalīfa of Allah" ( خليفة الله ) as transmitted by Ibn Māja himself, who gives a similar text without this phrase on the authority of ‘Alqama --- Ibn Mas‘ūd.<sup>20</sup> Al-Albani quotes Ibn Taimiyya, who says that the term "Khalīfa of Allāh" is not correct, for no-one can be a deputy of Allāh; Abū Bakr was once addressed: "O Khalīfa of Allāh !"; he said, "I am not the Khalīfa of Allāh. But I am the Khalīfa (i.e. successor) of the Messenger of Allāh."<sup>21</sup>

Hence, since all the asānīd mentioned above are unreliable, the ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### Hadīth 35 (About Shu‘aib b. Ṣālīh)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Sa‘īd Abū ‘Uthmān --- Jābir --- Abū Ja‘far.

#### Discussion

Sa‘īd Abū ‘Uthmān is untraceable in the books of Rijāl. By Jābir, if the son of Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith is meant, then he is a weak authority.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, this ḥadīth is unfounded (*bāṭil*).

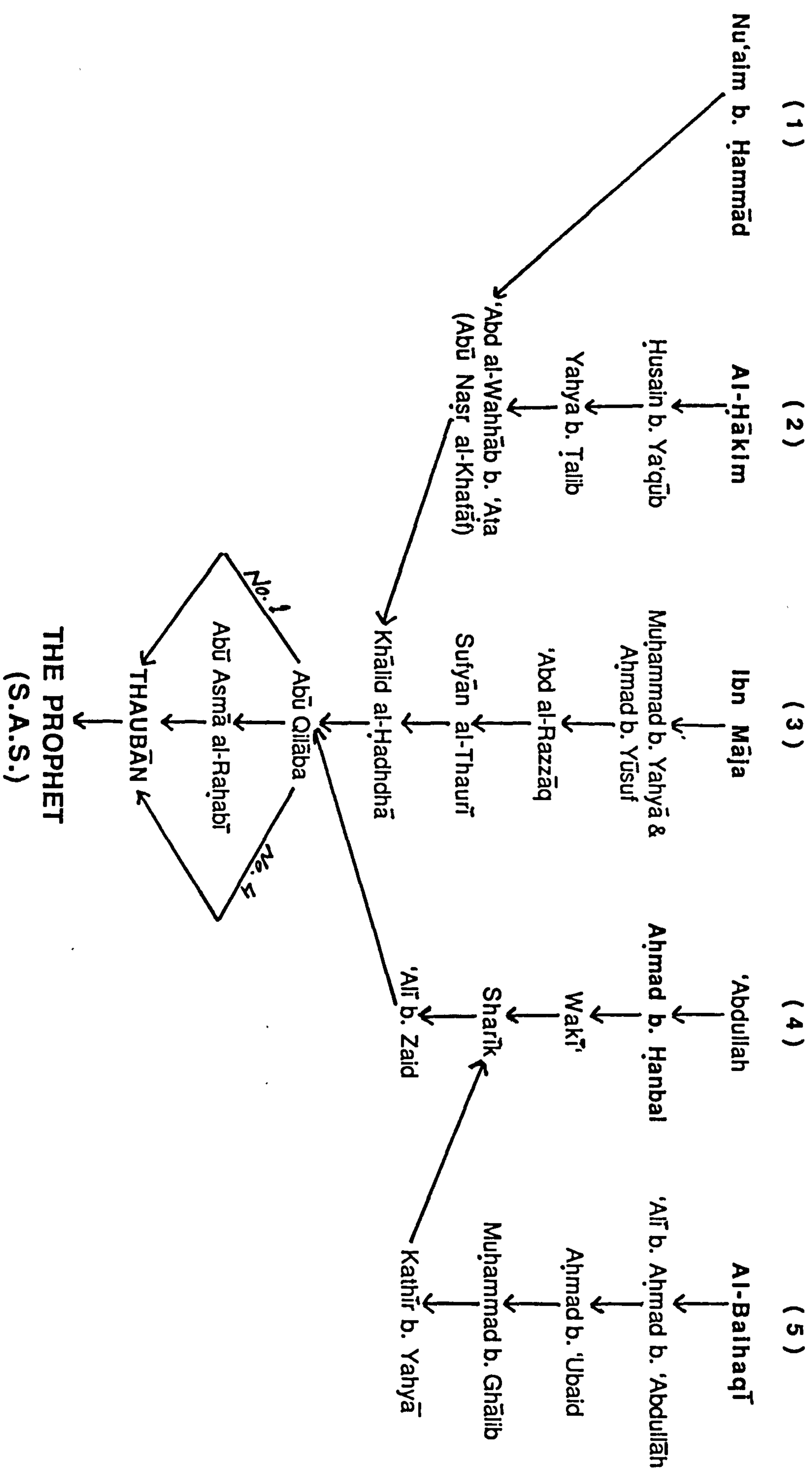


Figure 2: Diagram showing the various asānīd for Ḥadīth 34.



### Hadīth 36 (Black flags of Banū ‘Abbās)

Isnād: Same as no. 3, which is a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) ḥadīth.

### Hadīth 37 (The Sufyānī's encounter with a Hashimite)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Tihartī --- Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ --- Shuraiḥ b. ‘Ubaid, Rashīd b. Sa‘d, Damura b. Ḥabīb and their shaikhs.

#### Discussion

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Tihartī is not traceable (see no. 3).

Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, al-Ḥimṣī, is truthful but known to be prone to speculations.<sup>23</sup> Shuraiḥ b. ‘Ubaid, al-Ḥimṣī, is reliable but he used to narrate through the way of *Irsāl*.<sup>24</sup> Rashīd b. Sa‘d al-Ḥimṣī is similar to Shuraiḥ.<sup>25</sup>

Hence, the ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*) because of these four authorities.

### Hadīth 38 (The identity of the Hashimite)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd who said, "It reached me ..."

#### Discussion

This isnad is woefully inadequate; al-Walīd does not mention his authorities at all. The ḥadīth is thus unfounded (*bāṭil*).

### Hadīth 39 (The Sufyānī attacks Madīna)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abd al-Quddūs ---- Ibn ‘Ayyāsh === a knowledgeable person --- Muḥammad b. Ja‘far --- ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Discussion: The same as Ḥadīth 21, which is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

**Hadīth 40** (The Mahdi and the white one escape from Madīna)

**Isnād:** The same as no. 23 with the addition of: --- Abū Rumān --- ‘Alī.

**Discussion**

Except for the above-mentioned two, all the reporters are unreliable (see also nos. 6 & 16).

Hence, this ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

---

## **FOOTNOTES & REFERENCES FOR SECTION C**

<sup>1</sup> DHM, 2:49; DQD:209; HTQ, p. 209

<sup>2</sup> HTQ, p. 600

<sup>3</sup> HTQ, p. 683

<sup>4</sup> JS, 2:136

<sup>5</sup> DHM, 4:423f

<sup>6</sup> *Qasāma* : When a murderer is not known, fifty people from the place where the body is found are asked to swear by Allāh that they have no knowledge of the murderer.

<sup>7</sup> HMK, 4:464

<sup>8</sup> NFN, p. 167

<sup>9</sup> HMK, 4:502

<sup>10</sup> JS, 2:1367

<sup>11</sup> AM, 5:277

<sup>12</sup> BQS

<sup>13</sup> HTQ, p. 426

<sup>14</sup> HTM, p. 15

<sup>15</sup> HTQ, p. 368; DHM, 2:681-2

<sup>16</sup> DHM, 3:127

<sup>17</sup> HTM, p. 21

<sup>18</sup> DHM, 1:642

<sup>19</sup> LSD, 1:120

<sup>20</sup> JS, 2:517

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Taimiyya, *Fatāwā*, 2:461

<sup>22</sup> HTQ, p. 137

<sup>23</sup> HTQ, p. 528

<sup>24</sup> HTQ, p. 264

<sup>25</sup> HTQ, p. 204.



## **SECTION D** (Nos. 41-60)

### **Hadīth 41** (The killing of *al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*)

**Isnād and verdict:** See no. 5 (*ḍa'īf*)

### **Hadīth 42** (About an enemy attacking Makkah)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === Ibn Wahb --- Yazīd b. 'Iyād --- 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda --  
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā --- 'Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān --- Ḥafṣa === The Prophet.

#### **Discussion**

'Abdullāh b. Wahb is trustworthy, although he is known to be a *mudallis*.<sup>1</sup>

Yazīd b. 'Iyād is the main figure on whom this narration rests. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar quotes disparaging remarks such as "The worst liar" (by Mālik), "Nothing" (Ibn Ma'īn), "fabricator" (Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ), "*Munkar* in Ḥadīth" (Abū Ḥātim), "Weak" (Abū Zur'a), "*Munkar*" (al-Bukhārī and Muslim), and "Left out" (al-Nasā'ī).<sup>2</sup>

Ibn 'Adī says, "Most of his narrations are not preserved."<sup>3</sup>

'Āṣim b. 'Umar is a trustworthy authority.<sup>4</sup>

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā is not traceable in the books of *Rijāl*.

'Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān is known to be a Successor, even though Ibn Ḥibbān counts him among the Companions.<sup>5</sup>

Owing to the very strong disparaging remarks about Yazīd b. 'Iyād, this narration is considered totally fabricated (*maḍū'*).

### **Hadīth 43** (The Sufyānī sends a contingent to Makkah)

**Isnād and verdict:** See no. 25 (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

**Hadīth 44** (The sinking of the whole contingent except for two men)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === al-Walīd --- a shaikh --- Jābir --- Abū Ja‘far.

**Discussion**

The presence of an un-named person in this narration is enough to render it weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

**Hadīth 45** (The description of the two who escape)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Tihartī --- ‘Abd al-Salām b. Maslama --- Abū Qābil.

**Discussion**

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh is not traceable (see no. 3). The remaining isnād is similar to the isnād of no. 6, which is a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) narration.

**Hadīth 46** (The sinking of the contingent as a sign)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Ibn Wahb --- Ibn Lahī‘a --- al-Ma‘āfirī, who heard Abū Firās, who heard ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr.

**Discussion**

It has already been mentioned that Ibn Lahī‘a is a weak authority except when any of the four ‘Abdullāhs (including Ibn Wahb) reports from him, which is the case in this isnād.

The shaikh of Ibn Lahī‘a is not known, except by his tribe affiliation: al-Ma‘āfirī. Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād has given an isnād containing ‘Abdullāh b. Nu‘aim al-Ma‘āfirī (folio 44 of the manuscript); no such person is traceable, only ‘Abdullah b. Nu‘aim b. Ḥammām al-Qainī al-Shāmī. Ibn Ma‘īn says about him, "*Muḥlim* (in the dark)", i.e. not well-known.<sup>6</sup> He is reported to be an ascetic who is lenient in the matters of Ḥadīth.<sup>7</sup>

As for Abū Firās, he is Yazīd b. Rabāḥ al-Sahmī, a freed slave of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr. He is a Successor and a trustworthy person.<sup>8</sup>

However, the narration will remain weak (*ḍa‘īf*) because of ‘Abdullāh b. Nu‘aim.

#### **Hadīth 47** (A flag from the West as a sign)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Abū Yūsuf --- Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaidullāh b. Buraid b. al-Sindī --- Ka‘b.

#### **Discussion**

A number of reporters with the by-name of Abū Yūsuf are recorded in *Taqrīb* and *Tahdhīb*. Chronologically, only one of them, by the name of Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī al Madanī, who later settled in Baghdād (d. 208 AH), could be the shaikh of Abū Nu‘aim (d. 228 AH). But Nu‘aim described him as al-Maqdisī, who used to be a Kūfī (see Ḥadīth 10). Therefore, the said authority could not be Nu‘aim's shaikh. Also, Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaidullāh b. Buraid b. al-Sindī cannot be traced. Therefore, this ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

#### **Hadīth 48** (A sign in the sun)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Thaur and ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar - -- Ibn Tāwūs --- ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās.

#### **Discussion**

Among the shaikhs of Nu‘aim, Ibn Thaur is not traceable. Moreover, Nu‘aim is not acceptable when reporting from ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mubārak. Therefore, the ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

#### **Hadīth 49** (A sign of the Mahdi: Allāh is rejected)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān --- al-Minhāl b. Khalīfa --- Maṭar al-Warrāq.



## Discussion

Apart from Ibn Ḥibbān, who records Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān among the trustworthy narrators, all other traditionists such as Zakariyya al-Sājī, Aḥmad, Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Dāwūd, . . . Nasāʾī and Ibn al-Madīnī declare him to be weak and unreliable.<sup>9</sup> Ibn ʿAdī says, "Most of his narrations are not preserved."<sup>10</sup>

As for al-Minhāl b. Khalīfa al-Kūfī, a great number of traditionists such as Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī, al-Nasāʾī, . . . Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥibbān declare him to be weak. Favourable remarks come from Abū Ḥātim and Abū Dāwūd.<sup>11</sup>

Maṭar b. Taḥmān al-Warrāq al-Khurāsānī is a Successor. He attracts both types of remarks.<sup>12</sup>

However, the presence of at least two weak reporters renders this ḥadīth weak (*daʿīf*).

## Hadīth 50 (Three trials)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān --- Kaisān al-Rawāsibī al-Qassār, who was a trustworthy person === his master, who heard ʿAlī.

## Discussion

Yaḥyā has been discussed in the previous ḥadīth.

Kaisān (Abū ʿUmar, a freed slave of Yazīd b. Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith al-Fazarī) is declared weak by Ibn Maʿīn, Aḥmad, al-Sājī and al-Dāraquṭnī, while Nuʿaim and Ibn Ḥibbān record him as trustworthy.<sup>13</sup>

Yazīd b. Bilāl, the reporter from ʿAlī, is totally unreliable in the view of Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-Azdī.<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, the ḥadīth is weak (*daʿīf*).

## Hadīth 51 (An event in the year 204)

Isnād: See no. 23, which is a weak (*daʿīf*) ḥadīth.

## **Hadīth 52** (Men selling their daughters)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Ibn ‘Ayyāsh --- Sālim b. ‘Abdullāh --- Abū Muḥammad --- a man from al-Maghrib.

### **Discussion**

This narration is immediately rejected because of the ambiguous identity of the man from al-Maghrib. Moreover, it is difficult to ascertain which Sālim b. ‘Abdullāh is meant out of the four mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in *Tahdhīb*<sup>15</sup>, and which Abū Muḥammad is meant out of eight persons by this *kunya* in the same source.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, the ḥadīth is *bāṭil*.

## **Hadīth 53** (A cry from Heaven)

**Isnād:** See no. 35, which is a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) ḥadīth.

## **Hadīth 54** (A cry from Heaven after the troubles of Ibn al-Zubair)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Ibn Wahb --- Ishāq b. Yaḥyā al-Tamīmī --- al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān --- his mother.

### **Discussion**

Ishāq b. Yaḥyā is labelled as weak, *munkar*, left out, not trustworthy and of bad memory by eighteen prominent traditionists.<sup>17</sup>

Al-Mughīra is a reliable authority who reports from his mother Sa‘da bint ‘Auf al-Māriyya.<sup>18</sup>

The presence of Ishāq renders this hadith very weak (*ḍa‘īf jiddan*).

### Hadīth 55 (A cry from Heaven after the killing of *al-Nafs Zakiyya*)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī‘a === Abū Zur‘a --- ‘Abdullāh b. Zarīr --- ‘Ammār b. Yāsir

#### Discussion

‘Abdullāh b. Zarīr al-Ghāfiqi al-Miṣrī<sup>19</sup> is reliable, but weakness comes from Ibn Lahī‘a (see no. 8) and Rishdīn (see no. 24).

As for Abū Zur‘a, he is ‘Amr b. Jabrī al-Haḍramī; Ibn Lahī‘a, the reporter from him says about him, "He is mentally weak: he used to claim that ‘Alī was in the cloud; he would sit with us and see a cloud and say, 'Look! ‘Alī has passed by in that cloud'."

Aḥmad says, "He reported *munkar* aḥādīth from Jābir."<sup>20</sup>

Hence, the ḥadīth is very weak. (*ḍa‘īf jiddan*)

### Hadīth 56 (People turning rabid during Hajj)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Abū Yūsuf al-Maqdisī === Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaidullāh --- ‘Amr b. Shu‘aib --- his father --- ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr.

#### Discussion

Apart from Abū Yūsuf, whose identity is not confirmed (see nos. 10 & 47), another unreliable authority is Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaidullāh b. Abī Sulaimān al-‘Arzamī al-Fazarī al-Kūfī. Eighteen prominent traditionists declare him to be a very weak reporter; the reason given for his weakness is the loss of his books which made him rely upon his bad memory and commit mistakes.<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, this ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa‘īf jiddan*).

### Hadīth 57 (The Mahdi is forced into taking pledges in Makka)

Isnād: See no. 1, which is a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) ḥadīth.



### Hadīth 58 (The venue of the pledge)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Abū Yūsuf --- Fiṭr b. Khalīfa --- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Ukāli --- Abū Huraira.

#### Discussion

Much has been said about Abū Yūsuf (cf. nos. 10 & 47); Fiṭr (cf. no.10) is also a weak authority; al-Ḥasan al-‘Ukāli is not traceable. Therefore, the Ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### Hadīth 59 (The Mahdi is forced into pledge)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Ibn Thaur and ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Qatāda --- The Prophet.

#### Discussion

This narration, being a *mursal* one of Qatāda, is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### Hadīth 60 (The Mahdi is approached at his house)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī --- Ayyūb --- Ibn Sīrīn --- Abū l-Jald.

#### Discussion

All the reporters of this narration are trustworthy: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Majīd is a reliable authority, except for the last three or four years of his life, when he was judged to be senile<sup>22</sup>; Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma al-Sikhtīānī is held in high esteem when reporting from Ibn Sīrīn<sup>23</sup>; Muḥammad b. Sīrīn is a Successor who reports from Anas b. Mālik, Zaid, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and others.<sup>24</sup> Abū l-Jald is recorded only by Ibn Sa‘d<sup>25</sup> and Abū Nu‘aim al-Iṣfahānī<sup>26</sup>. His name is given as Jailān b. Farwāḥ al-Jūnī, and is said to be a trustworthy reporter.

Hence, the narration is acceptable (*maqbul*), although it stands as a saying of Abū l-Jald and not that of the Prophet.

---

## REFERENCES FOR SECTION D

- <sup>1</sup> HTH, 6:71
- <sup>2</sup> HTH, 11:352
- <sup>3</sup> IAD, 7:2717
- <sup>4</sup> HTH, 5:53
- <sup>5</sup> HTH, 5:265
- <sup>6</sup> HTH, 6:56
- <sup>7</sup> HTQ, p.327
- <sup>8</sup> HTH, 11:325
- <sup>9</sup> HTH, 11:306
- <sup>10</sup> IAD, 7:2691
- <sup>11</sup> HTH, 10:319
- <sup>12</sup> HTH, 10:167
- <sup>13</sup> HTH, 8:454
- <sup>14</sup> HTH, 11:316
- <sup>15</sup> HTH, 3: 436, 430, 439, 440
- <sup>16</sup> HTH, 12: 223-5
- <sup>17</sup> HTH, 1:254-5
- <sup>18</sup> HTH, 10:264
- <sup>19</sup> HTH, 5:216
- <sup>20</sup> DHM, 3:250
- <sup>21</sup> HTH, 9:323-4
- <sup>22</sup> HTH, 6:449
- <sup>23</sup> HTH, 1:397
- <sup>24</sup> HTH, 9:215
- <sup>25</sup> MTB, 7:222
- <sup>26</sup> Abū Nu‘aim Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Isfahānī (d. 430), *Ḥilya al-Auliya*, 6:54-58.

## **SECTION E** (Nos. 61-80)

### **Hadīth 61** (The Mahdi's speech)

**Isnād:** See Ḥadīth 35; a very weak ḥadīth (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

### **Hadīth 62** (Seven scholars meeting at Makkah)

**Isnād:** See Ḥadīth 8; a very weak ḥadīth (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

### **Hadīth 63** (Contingents from Iraq and Syria)

**Isnād:** See Ḥadīth 8 of 'Abd al-Razzāq's collection (Chapter 2); weak (*ḍa'īf*).

### **Hadīth 64** (The killing of the Sufyānī at Jerusalem)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī'a === Abū Zur'a --- Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

#### **Discussion**

The initial part of this isnād as far as Abū Zur'a is similar to that in Ḥadīth 55, and consists of weak reporters, so the ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

### **Hadīth 65** (The killing of the Sufyānī)

**Isnād:** Nu'aim === al-Walīd b. Muslim === a traditionist.



## Discussion

This isnād is incomplete, since the immediate authority of al-Walīd is unknown. Therefore, this saying is totally unfounded (*munqaṭi'*).

### Hadīth 66 (The Sufyānī hands over the Caliphate to the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === 'Abd al-Quddūs --- Abū Bakr === our shaikhs.

## Discussion

The unknown shaikhs of Abū Bakr are enough to render this ḥadīth unfounded (*bāṭil*).

### Hadīth 67 (The reason for the title 'Mahdi')

Isnād: See no. 4 of 'Abd al-Razzāq's collection; a weak (*ḍa'īf*) narration.

### Hadīth 68 (The slogan on the Mahdi's flag)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān --- Sufyān al-Thaurī --- Abū Ishāq --- Nauf al-Bikālī.

## Discussion

Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān is very weak (cf. Ḥadīth 49).

Abū Ishāq al-Subai'ī is one of the Successors. His sayings were abandoned by the traditionists because he began to confuse things due to old age.<sup>1</sup>

Nauf al-Bikālī is another son of the wife of Ka'b al-Aḥbār. He is labelled as *mastūr* (hidden) because no one authenticates him. He is blamed for narrating spurious aḥādīth from *Ahl al-Kitāb*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, with these three weak reporters, this saying is baseless (*bāṭil*).

### Hadīth 69 (Ibn Sīrīn's opinion about the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Yahyā --- al-Sariyy b. Yahyā --- Ibn Sīrīn.

#### Discussion

It is not stated which Yahyā is meant as the shaikh of Nu'aim; it is either Yahyā b. al-Yamān (cf. Ḥadīth 49) or Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Attar (cf. Ḥadīth 2): both are weak.

Al-Sariyy b. Yahyā is a reliable authority.<sup>3</sup>

This saying of Ibn Sīrīn is thus not authentic (*ḍa'īf*) as far as its isnad is concerned, due to the unknown shaikh of Nu'aim.

### Hadith 70 (A comparison between 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Ḍamura --- Ibn Shaudhab --- Maṭar

#### Discussion

Damura b. Rabī'a al-Ramlī is a reliable authority.<sup>4</sup>

'Abdullāh b. Shaudhab al-Khurāsānī, labelled as an Imām, is a contemporary of Imām al-Auzā'ī.<sup>5</sup>

Hence, the isnād to Maṭar al-Warrāq (cf. Ḥadīth 49) is dependable. The above opinion of Maṭar remains as he did not quote any authority above him for such a judgement.

### Hadīth 71 (The reason for the title 'Mahdi')

Isnād: Similar to that of Hadith 70, with the addition of Ka'b from whom Maṭar reports.

#### Discussion

Ka'b is well known for reporting from the People of the Book (Ahl al-Kitāb); this seems to be one such saying. (cf. no. 4 of 'Abd al-Razzāq)

### Hadīth 72 (The Mahdi will distribute wealth)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === ‘Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma‘mar --- Qatāda --- The Prophet.

#### Discussion

Qatāda is a Successor, and does not give the authority between him and the Prophet. Being a *mursal* ḥadīth, it is not acceptable (*da‘īf*).

### Hadīth 73 (The Mahdi's character)

Isnād: Same as no. 2 of ‘Abd al-Razzāq's collection: a dark isnād (*da‘īf*).

### Hadīth 74 (A Description of the Mahdi) (cf. also nos. 75, 77, 81, 92, 104)

The seven similar aḥādīth reported by Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī give a number of characteristics attributed to the Mahdi; they are narrated also by Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī, Aḥmad and Ḥākim.

The following is the text of Abū Dāwūd:

“The Mahdi is from me. He is bald of the forehead and hook-nosed. He will fill the world with justice and equity, just as it was filled with tyranny and injustice, and will rule for seven years.”<sup>6</sup>

The text of Tirmidhī is as follows:

Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī said, “We were afraid of events after the Prophet. So we asked the Prophet of Allāh S.A.S (about this).”

He said, “From among my Umma, the Mahdi will appear, and will live for five, seven or nine.” (the doubt is from Zaid al-‘Ammī)

We said, “What is that?”

He said, “Years.”

Then he said, “A man will come to him saying, ‘O Mahdi, give me, give me.’ So he would fill his cloth with as much as he could carry.”<sup>7</sup>



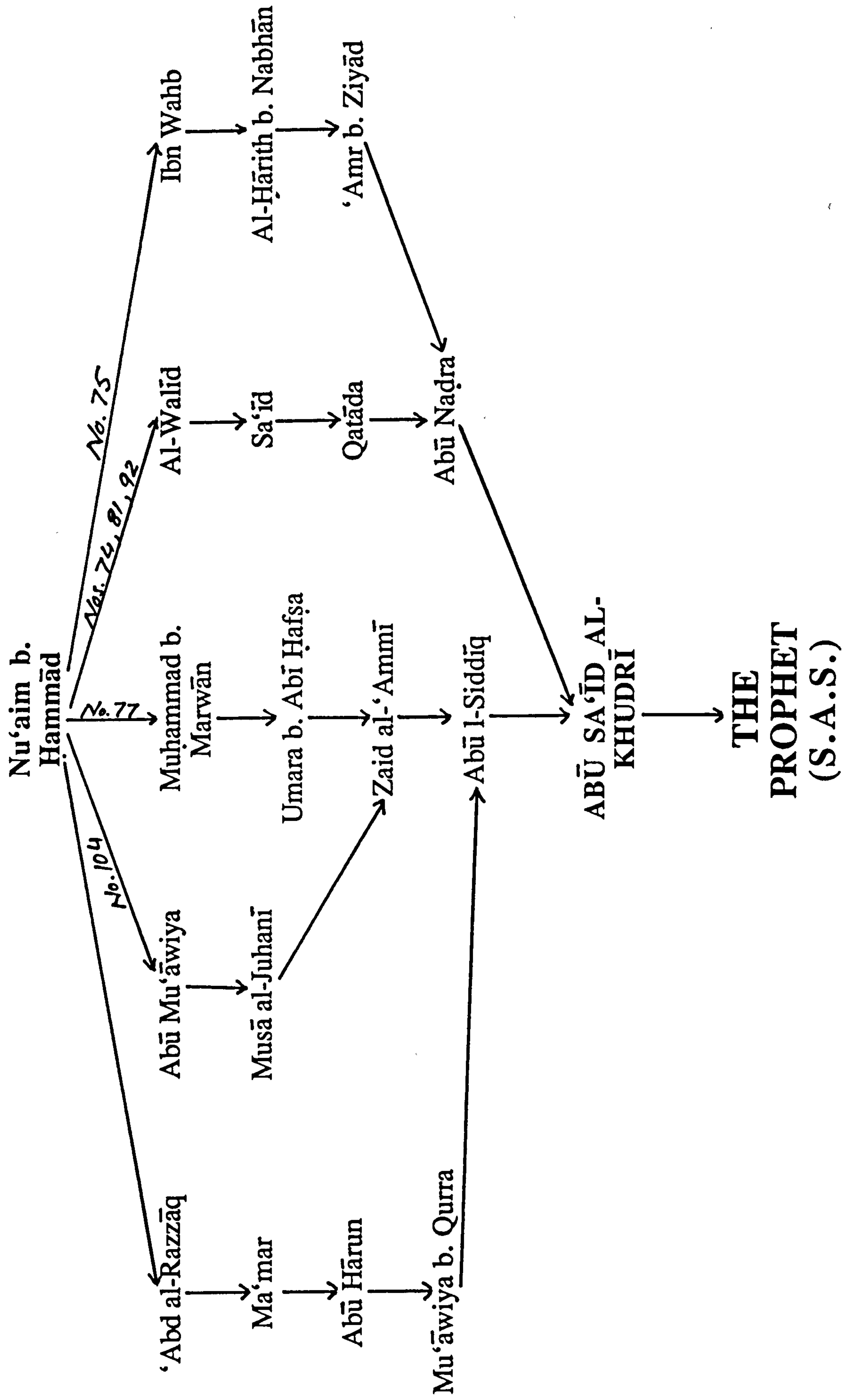


Figure 3: Diagram showing the asanid of Nu'aim's aḥādīth discussed under Ḥadīth 74.

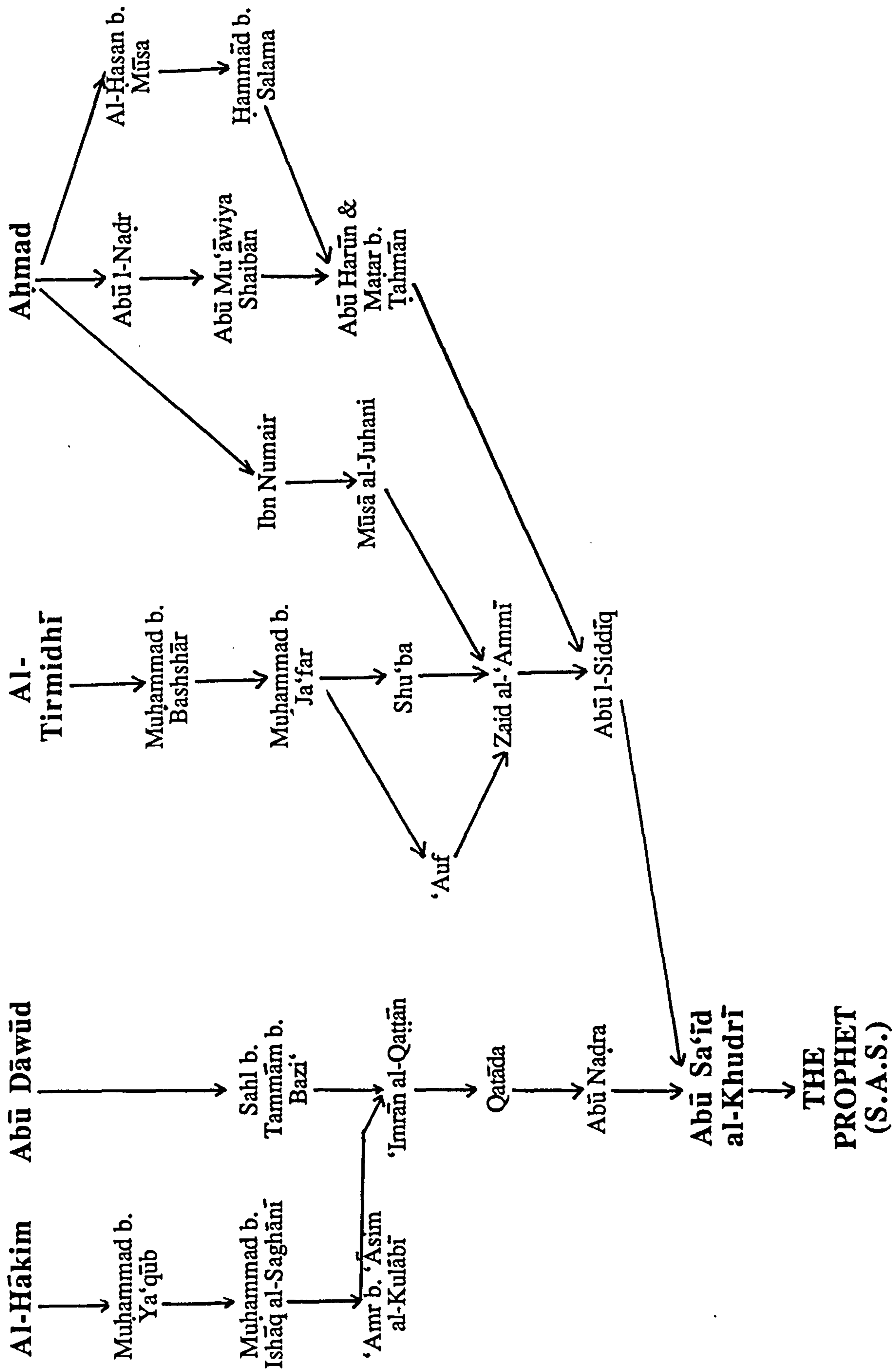


Figure 4: *Asānīd of the later traditionists discussed under Ḥadīth 74.*

Figures 3 and 4 show the *asānīd* of Nu‘aim and the later traditionists respectively.

### Asānīd of Nu‘aim (see Fig. 3)

(a) The *isnād* through ‘Abd al-Razzāq is weak (*ḍa‘īf*). (See no. 2 of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s collection, Chapter 2)

(b) The *asānīd* through both Abū Mu‘āwiya and Muḥammad b. Marwān pass via Zaid al-‘Ammī, who is a weak authority.<sup>8</sup> Muḥammed b. Marwān al-Suddi is also not reliable.<sup>9</sup>

(c) The *isnād* through al-Walīd includes reliable authorities such as Sa‘īd b. Abī Arūba<sup>10</sup>, Qatāda and Abū Naḍra, although both al-Walīd and Qatāda are accused of *tadlīs*.

(d) The *isnād* through Ibn Wahb passes through al-Ḥārith b. Nabhān, who is a very weak authority.<sup>11</sup>

### Asānīd of the later traditionists

(e) The *asānīd* of both Ḥākim and Abū Dāwūd go through ‘Imrān al-Qaṭṭān; much criticism is directed against him, as pointed out by Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>12</sup>

A host of traditionists such as Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, Aḥmad, Ibn Shāhīn, ‘Ijlī, Ḥākim and Abū Dāwūd have good opinions of him, while others, e.g. Ibn Ma‘īn, Nasā‘ī, Bukhārī and Dāraquṭnī either declare him to be a weak personality or regard him as a “truthful person who is prone to speculation.”<sup>13</sup> He is known to have issued a *fatwā* in support of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥasan who rebelled along with his brother Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya against al-Manṣūr, the ‘Abbāsīd caliph.<sup>14</sup>

(f) The main faulty reporter in the *asānīd* of both Tirmidhī and Aḥmad is Zaid al-‘Ammī al-Ḥawārī, al-Baṣrī, the Qāḍī of Ḥirāt. He is nick-named ‘*Ammi* (from ‘*amm*: uncle) because he used to say, whenever asked about any issue, “I shall ask my uncle.” Despite several favourable remarks about him, most traditionists declare him to be a weak authority. To ascertain the extent of his weakness, we may rely upon the verdict of Ibn ‘Adī, who says, “Although he belongs to the group of weak authorities, his narrations are nevertheless suitable for writing down.”<sup>15</sup>

(g) The other two *asānīd* of Aḥmad contain reporters who are all reliable, with the exception of Maṭar b. Taḥmān, who attracts both types of remarks (cf. Ḥadīth 49).



**Verdict:** This text has been reported through a number of asānīd, and this compensates for the weakness found in each isnād, rendering it authentic; al-Albānī<sup>16</sup> ranks this ḥadīth as *ḥasan* since its reporters lack the strength of a *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth.

### **Hadīth 75**

See Hadīth 74.

### **Hadīth 76** (Three types of Mahdi)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === al-Walīd, who heard a man.

#### **Discussion**

This is an isnād with only one named authority. Hence, it is totally unacceptable (*bāṭil*).

### **Hadīth 78** (The Mahdi brings out the Ark of Tranquillity)

**Isnād:** Same as Hadīth 20: spurious (*maḍū‘*).

### **Hadīth 79** (Allāh will perfect the Mahdi in one night)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === al-Qāsim b. Mālīk al-Muzanī --- Yāsīn b. Sayyār === Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya === his father === ‘Alī === The Prophet.

#### **Discussion**

Aḥmad reaches Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya through Abū Nu‘aim === Yāsīn al-‘Ijlī.<sup>17</sup>

Both al-Qāsim b. Mālīk<sup>18</sup> and Yāsīn al-‘Ijlī are reliable reporters, although a little criticism is directed at the latter: Bukhārī said about him,

(فيه نظرٌ) “He is criticised.”<sup>19</sup> However, this type of criticism, devoid of detail, is not enough to disparage a person. There is thus no apparent discrepancy in the isnād.

According to : Suyūṭī, this ḥadīth is *ḥasan*.<sup>20</sup>  
Al-Albānī ranks it *ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>21</sup>

**Hadīth 80** (A man named al-Saffāḥ will appear at the end of time)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Abū Mu‘āwiyā --- al-A‘mash --- ‘Aṭiyya --- Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

Aḥmad gives a similar isnād, but reaches al-A‘mash through Uthmān === Jarīr<sup>22</sup>. Hence, this ḥadīth relies on al-A‘mash and his shaikh; the former is known to be a *mudallis*, and reports here by way of ‘an and not *haddathanā*.<sup>23</sup>

As for ‘Aṭṭiyya al-‘Ufī, he is declared weak by Aḥmad and Abū Ḥātim, while Ibn Ma‘īn says that he is acceptable (صالحٌ).<sup>24</sup>

Thus, this ḥadīth is weak (*da‘if*).

---

## REFERENCES FOR SECTION E

- <sup>1</sup> DHM, 3: 270
- <sup>2</sup> HTQ, p. 567
- <sup>3</sup> HTQ, p. 230
- <sup>4</sup> HTQ, p. 280; DHM, 2:330
- <sup>5</sup> HTQ, p. 308
- <sup>6</sup> DS, no. 4285
- <sup>7</sup> TS, no. 2333; AHM, 3:17, 21, 27, 31; HMK, 4:557
- <sup>8</sup> DHM, 2:102
- <sup>9</sup> HTQ, p. 506
- <sup>10</sup> HTQ, p. 239
- <sup>11</sup> DHM, 1:444
- <sup>12</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 1:561
- <sup>13</sup> HTQ, 2:83
- <sup>14</sup> HTH, 8:131
- <sup>15</sup> BTK, 2:1:392
- <sup>16</sup> Al-Albānī, *Mishkāṭ*, 3:1501 (no. 5454)
- <sup>17</sup> AM, 1:84
- <sup>18</sup> DHM, 3:378
- <sup>19</sup> HTQ, p. 587; DHM 4:359
- <sup>20</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Faiḍ al-Qadīr*, 6:278
- <sup>21</sup> LJS, no. 6735
- <sup>22</sup> AM, 3:80
- <sup>23</sup> DHM, 2:224
- <sup>24</sup> DHM, 3:80



## SECTION F (Nos. 81-100)

Hadīth 81 - see Hadīth 74.

Hadīth 82 (The Mahdi will live for fifty years or more)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Mu‘tamir b. Sulaimān --- ‘Imrān b. Huḍair --- Sumait --- Ka‘b.

### Discussion

All three reporters in the isnād up to Ka‘b, al-Mu‘tamir<sup>1</sup>, ‘Imrān<sup>2</sup>, and Sumait<sup>3</sup>, are trustworthy, although Ka‘b’s source is unknown. Hence, it is acceptable as a saying of Ka‘b (*ṣaḥīḥ al-isnād*).

Hadīth 83 (The Mahdi will appear at the age of forty)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd --- Sa‘īd --- Qatāda --- ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith

### Discussion

A problem here is the unknown precise identity of Sa‘īd; if he is Sa‘īd b. Yazīd al-Tamūkhī (cf. Hadīth 17), he is not mentioned in the books of *Rijāl*. Hence, this hadīth, which is the saying of a Companion at best, remains weak (*da‘īf*).

Hadīth 84 (A description of the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nua‘im === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī‘a --- Isrā‘īl b. ‘Abbād --- Maimūn al-Quddāh --- Abū l-Ṭufail --- The Prophet.

## Discussion

Isrā'il and Maimūn are not found in the books of *Rijāl*. As well as this, the isnād contains al-Walīd, who is a *mudallis*, and Rishdīn and Ibn Lahī'a who are weak. Therefore, this ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

## Hadīth 85 (The Mahdi's place of birth and migration)

Isnād: Nu'aim === 'Abdullāh b. Marwān --- al-Haitham b. 'Abd al-Rahmān --- some one who related to him --- 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.

## Discussion

As well as one reporter being un-named, 'Abdullāh b. Marwān is a weak authority (cf. Ḥadīth 4) and al-Haitham is not mentioned by the books of *Rijāl*. Thus, the ḥadīth is very weak (*ḍa'īf jiddan*).

## Hadīth 86 (The Mahdi will live for sixty years)

Isnād: Same as no. 12: a weak ḥadīth (*ḍa'īf*).

## Hadīth 87 (About the Mahdi's name)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Ibn 'Uyaina --- 'Āṣim --- Zirr --- 'Abdullāh --- The Prophet

## Discussion

A slight variation of the same text has been reported by Abū Dāwūd<sup>4</sup>, Tirmidhī<sup>5</sup>, and Aḥmad<sup>6</sup>, through the same isnād; Abū Dāwūd has given five immediate authorities who narrated this ḥadīth through the above isnād. Since this isnād contains reliable authorities, apart from a slightly critical remark about the memory of 'Āṣim b. Abī al-Nujud<sup>7</sup>, al-Albānī declares this ḥadīth to be *ḥasan*.<sup>8</sup>

### Hadīth 88 (The Mahdi belongs to the household of the Prophet)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Mu‘tamir --- a man --- Abū al-Ṣiddīq --- Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī --- The Prophet.

#### Discussion

Because of the unknown reporter, this ḥadīth is not acceptable (*da‘īf*).

### Hadīth 89 (The Mahdi belongs to the house of ‘Abbās)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Ibn ‘Uyaina --- ‘Amr --- Abū Ma‘bad --- Ibn ‘Abbās.

#### Discussion

Sufyān b. ‘Uyaina is a well-known traditionist; although he narrates by way of *tadlīs*, he does so through trustworthy reporters.<sup>9</sup> ‘Amr b. Dīnār is also a prominent traditionist.<sup>10</sup> Abū Ma‘bad is the freed slave of Ibn ‘Abbās, and is labelled trustworthy.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, all the reporters are reliable; however, the ḥadīth is a saying of Ibn ‘Abbās and contradicts a number of other sayings of the Prophet which show that the Mahdi would be from his household (*shādhah*).

### Hadīth 90 (The Mahdi is from the household of al-‘Abbās)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd and others --- ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ghunayya --- al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr --- Sa‘īd b. Jubair --- Ibn ‘Abbās.

#### Discussion

Al-Walīd is known to be a *mudallis*. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ghunayya is declared to be trustworthy by both Aḥmad and Ibn Ma‘īn.<sup>12</sup>

Al-Minhāl is labelled as “truthful, but prone to speculations”<sup>13</sup>.

Hence, because of the *tadlīs* of al-Walid and the weakness of al-Minhāl, the ḥadīth is weak (*da‘īf*).



### Hadīth 91 (The Mahdi belongs to the Prophet's family)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd --- ‘Alī b. Ḥaushab, who heard Makhūl === ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib === The Prophet

#### Discussion

Apart from al-Walīd, who is known to be a *mudallis* and narrates here with the mode ‘*an*, the other reporters, ‘Alī b. Ḥaushab<sup>14</sup> and Makhūl<sup>15</sup>, are trustworthy.

This ḥadīth could be ranked authentic if a suitable *mutābi*‘ (supporting isnād) were to be found. However, since no such *mutābi*‘ is found, the ḥadīth remains weak (*ḍa‘īf*) because of al-Walid.

### Hadīth 92 - see Hadīth 74.

### Hadīth 93 (The Mahdi descends from the posterity of Ḥusain)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === al-Walīd and Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī‘a --- Abū Qābīl --- ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr.

#### Discussion

This ḥadīth has the same isnād as that of Hadīth 23, with the addition of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr as the highest authority. Hence, it is narrated as a saying of a Companion but lacks authenticity (*ḍa‘īf jiddan*).

### Hadīth 94 (The Mahdi belongs to the family of ‘Abd Shams)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Ibn Idrīs --- Ḥusain b. Farāt --- his father --- Aflāt b. Ṣāliḥ - -- ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith (or: --- ‘Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith --- Aflāt b. Ṣāliḥ ) === Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

#### Discussion

‘Abdullāh b. Idrīs is reliable.<sup>16</sup> Ḥusain b. Farāt is not traceable in the books of *Rijāl*. As for his father Farāt, there are at least nine reporters by this name, and most of them are weak authorities.<sup>17</sup> No-one with the name of Aflāt b. Ṣāliḥ is found in the books of *Rijāl*. Therefore, the ḥadīth is not acceptable (*ḍa‘īf*).

### Hadīth 95 ('Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Abū Mu'āwiya === Abū Qubayyisa --- Ḥasan.

#### Discussion

Abū Mu'āwiya is trustworthy (cf. Ḥadīth 80). Abū Qubayyisa is not traceable. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is well-known as an ascetic but is not dependable in the matters of ḥadīth.<sup>18</sup> So, in addition to the weakness of this isnād, it is no more than an opinion held by Ḥasan (*ḍa'īf maqtū'*).

### Hadīth 96 (The Mahdi descends from 'Abbās)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- a shaikh --- Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Khuzā'ī --- Ka'b.

#### Discussion

The existence of an unnamed reporter, in addition to the presence of Yazīd, who is not traceable, renders this report unacceptable. Al-Albānī quotes al-Dāraquṭnī, who gave a similar text with an isnād which includes Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, who used to fabricate aḥādīth. This is why al-Albānī ranks this ḥadīth as *maḍḍū'* (fabricated).<sup>19</sup>

### Hadīth 97 (The Mahdi will lead 'Īsā b. Maryam)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Abū Usāma --- Hishām --- Muḥammad.

#### Discussion

The Muḥammad referred to here is most likely to be Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, who reports from his famous father, but is not a reliable authority among the traditionists.<sup>20</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar lists five men named Hishām who could have reported from Muḥammad; four of them are not reliable.<sup>21</sup>

As for Abū Usāma, he seems to be Ḥammād b. Usāma al-Qurashī, and died in 201 AH. He is labelled as trustworthy.<sup>22</sup>

However the ḥadīth remains as a saying of Muḥammad which is not authentic (*ḍaʿīf*). A similar text with a different isnād is give under Ḥadīth no. 18 of the later traditionists (Chapter 4).

### Ḥadīth 98 (The Mahdi is ʿĪsā b. Maryam himself)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === more than one person --- Ḥammād b. Salama --- Ḥumaid --- al-Ḥasan.

#### Discussion

Apart from the unknown *shuyūkh* of Nuʿaim, the reporters Ḥammād<sup>23</sup> and Ḥumaid al-Ṭawīl<sup>24</sup> are reliable authorities. This saying is in any case attributed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī only, but it is not authentic (*ḍaʿīf*).

### Ḥadīth 99

(The Mahdi descends from Fāṭima)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === Baqiyya b. al-Walīd --- Abū Bakr b. Maryam --- Ḍamura b. Ḥabīb --- Abū Hazzān --- Kaʿb

#### Discussion

This isnād is weak (*ḍaʿīf*) in itself because of the following reasons:

- a) Baqiyya is a *mudallis*;
- b) Abū Bakr b. Maryam is not reliable;<sup>25</sup>
- c) Abū Hazzān is not traceable.

However, the text is reported as *marfūʿ* by Abū Dāwūd<sup>26</sup>, Ibn Māja<sup>27</sup> and Ḥākim<sup>28</sup>. Al-Albānī says about this latter ḥadīth, “Its isnād is fine and its reporters are trustworthy.”<sup>29</sup>

### Ḥadīth 100 (A man from the posterity of al-Ḥasan)

Isnād: Nuʿaim === more than one person --- Ibn ʿAyyāsh --- someone who related to him --- Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar --- ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.



## Discussion

This ḥadīth with this isnād, which contains more than one unknown reporter, as well as the ambiguous identity of Ibn ‘Ayyāsh (cf. Ḥadīth 13), is totally unacceptable.

A similar text is produced by Abū Dāwūd, with the following isnād :

Abū Dāwūd === Hārūn b. al-Mughira === ‘Amr b. Qais --- Shu‘aib b. Khālīd --- Abū Ishāq === ‘Alī.

This isnād contains reliable reporters, but there is a defect arising from the fact that Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī (d. 123 AH) survived ‘Alī (d. 40 AH) by eighty-three years; as al-Mundhirī pointed out, Abū Ishāq did see ‘Alī but he did not accompany him.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, this isnād is *munqaṭi‘* (broken).

In any case, there is no mention of the Mahdi in this ḥadīth; by listing it under the chapter of al-Mahdī, Abū Dāwūd led the later traditionists to attach it to this subject.

---

## **REFERENCES FOR SECTION E**

- <sup>1</sup> HTQ, p. 539
- <sup>2</sup> HTQ, p. 429
- <sup>3</sup> HTQ, p. 256
- <sup>4</sup> DS, no. 4282
- <sup>5</sup> TS, no. 2331
- <sup>6</sup> AM, 1:448
- <sup>7</sup> HTQ, p. 285; DHM, 2:357
- <sup>8</sup> LMS, 3:1501 (no. 5452)
- <sup>9</sup> HTQ, p. 245
- <sup>10</sup> DHM, 2:170
- <sup>11</sup> HTQ, p. 558
- <sup>12</sup> AHK, 5:347
- <sup>13</sup> HTQ, p. 547; cf. S.Hasan, *Criticism of Ḥadīth*, p. 170
- <sup>14</sup> HTQ, p. 400; KZK: 273
- <sup>15</sup> HTQ, p. 545
- <sup>16</sup> HTQ, p. 295
- <sup>17</sup> DHM, 2:340-3
- <sup>18</sup> DHM, 1:482
- <sup>19</sup> LSD, 1:108 (ḥadīth no. 80)
- <sup>20</sup> DHM, 3:500
- <sup>21</sup> HTQ, p. 572
- <sup>22</sup> HTQ, p. 177
- <sup>23</sup> DHM, 1:591
- <sup>24</sup> HTQ, p. 181
- <sup>25</sup> HTQ, p. 623
- <sup>26</sup> DS, no. 4284
- <sup>27</sup> JS, 2:1368
- <sup>28</sup> HMK, 4:557
- <sup>29</sup> LSD, 1:108
- <sup>30</sup> DSA, 11:380; DS, 6:4120

## SECTION G (Nos. 101-122)

### Hadīth 101 (The Mahdi will come from Yemen)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === Baqiyya and ‘Abd al-Quddūs --- Ṣafwān --- Shuraiḥ b. ‘Ubaid --- Ka‘b.

#### Discussion

Baqiyya b. al-Walīd does not have a good reputation among the traditionists; Abū Mishar says about him,

« أَحَادِيثُ بَقِيَّةٍ لَيْسَتْ نَقِيَّةً فَكُنْ مِنْهَا عَلَى نَقِيَّةٍ »

“The aḥādīth of Baqiyya are not clean, so beware of them.”<sup>1</sup>

As for ‘Abd al-Quddūs, he attracts disparaging remarks from most of the traditionists.<sup>2</sup>

Ṣafwān b. ‘Amr al-Siksikī<sup>3</sup> and Shuraiḥ b. ‘Ubaid (cf. Ḥadīth 37) are reliable reporters, but because of the first two reporters, the ḥadīth is weak (*da‘īf*).

### Hadīth 102 (Two Mahdis from the tribe of ‘Abd Shams)

Isnād: Nu‘aim === more than one --- Ibn ‘Ayyāsh === Sālim === Najda, who wrote to Ibn ‘Abbās.

#### Discussion

The immediate authority of Nu‘aim is unknown. The precise identity of Ibn ‘Ayyāsh is not known. However, al-Walīd b. ‘Ayyāsh (cf. Ḥadīth 23) is not traceable, while Ismā‘īl b. ‘Ayyāsh attracts opposing remarks: according to Abū Ḥātim, al-Nasā‘ī, Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Farra, Ibn al-Madīnī and Aḥmad, he is weak; he is declared trustworthy by Ibn Ma‘īn and Yazīd b. Hārūn, while Bukhārī says,



“He is acceptable when he reports from his own people (i.e. those of al-Shām), but not so when he reports from others.”<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the ambiguity surrounding the shaikhs of Nu‘aim is sufficient to render this ḥadīth weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### **Hadīth 103** (The Mahdi will live for forty years)

**Isnād:** See Ḥadīth 12: a weak ḥadīth (*ḍa‘īf*)

### **Hadīth 104** - see Ḥadīth 81.

### **Hadīth 105** (The Mahdi will live for thirty years)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Baqiyya b. al-Walīd & ‘Abd al-Quddūs --- Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam --- Damura b. Ḥabīb.

### **Discussion**

Except for Damura (cf. Ḥadīth 99), all other reporters, as has already been discussed, are of a weak nature. Therefore, this ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*).

### **Hadīth 106** (Contradictory opinions about the Mahdi's age)

**Isnād:** See Ḥadīth 17: a weak (*ḍa‘īf*) ḥadīth.

### **Hadīth 107** (Anarchy after the Mahdi's death)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Baqiyya b. al-Walīd and al-Walīd b. Muslim --- Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam === Yazīd b. Salmān --- Dīnār b. Dīnār.

## Discussion

As well as the *tadlīs* of Baqiyya and al-Walīd, and the weakness of Abū Bakr b. Abī Maryam, both Yazīd and Dīnār are not traceable. Therefore, the ḥadīth is weak (*da'īf*).

## Hadīth 108 (A man from Qaḥṭān will lead the people)

Isnād: Nu'aim === 'Abd al-Razzāq --- Ma'mar --- Ibn Abī Dhi'b --- Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Maqburī --- Abū Huraira.

## Discussion

This isnād contains only reliable reporters: 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ma'mar are well known traditionists; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dh'ib is trustworthy<sup>5</sup>; Sa'īd, well-known as a pupil of Abū Huraira, is sound.<sup>6</sup>

However, the text shows no direct link with the issue of the Mahdi.

## Hadīth 109 (A Yemenite will fight at 'Akka)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd --- Mu'āwiya b. Yaḥyā --- Artāt b. al-Mundhir --- Hākim b. 'Umair --- Tubai' --- Ka'b

## Discussion

Al-Walīd, a *mudallis*, is found to report here by way of 'an from Mu'āwiya b. Yaḥyā Abū Muṭī, who reports many *munkar* aḥādīth according to al-Dāraquṭnī.<sup>7</sup> Another suspect reporter is Hākim b. 'Umair who is labelled as "truthful, but prone to speculations."<sup>8</sup> Hence, this saying of Ka'b stands as a weak (*da'īf*) tradition.

## Hadīth 110 (Names of those who precede or follow the Mahdi)

Isnād: Nu'aim === 'Abdullāh b. Wahb --- Ibn Lahī'a --- al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd === 'Uqba b. Rashīd al-Sudfī === 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥajjāj === 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās

## Discussion

The weakness associated with Ibn Lahī'a is to be ignored when a person like 'Abdullāh b. Wahb reports from him. (cf. Ḥadīth 8). By al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd, whether it is meant al-Ḥaḍramī<sup>9</sup> or al-Kūfī<sup>10</sup>, is trustworthy. However, both 'Uqba b. Rashīd and 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥajjāj are untraceable; Ibn Ḥajar mentions an 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥajjāj<sup>11</sup> in the 11th category - the reporters of this category died after 200 AH, so he cannot be the one meant here reporting from a Companion. Therefore, this ḥadīth is weak (*da'īf*).

### Ḥadīth 111 (The conquest of Rumiyya at the hand of al-Qaḥṭānī)

Isnād: Same as Ḥadīth 12: weak (*da'īf*).

### Ḥadīth 112 (The dynasty of the Mahdi)

Isnād: Same as Ḥadīth 12: weak (*da'īf*).

### Ḥadīth 113 (The Mahdi's rule before and after the 'Abbāsids)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Tihartī --- 'Abd al-Salām b. Maslama --- Abī Qābil

## Discussion

This isnād contains the flaws of both Ḥadīth 3 (al-Tihartī) and Ḥadīth 6 ('Abd al-Salām b. Maslama --- Abī Qābil). Therefore, it is weak (*da'īf*).

### Ḥadīth 114 (The second Mahdi will rule until the appearance of 'Īsā)

Isnād: Same as Ḥadīth 20: fabricated (*mauḍū'*).

### Ḥadīth 115 (The rule of al-Manṣūr between two Mahdis)

Isnād: Same as Ḥadīth 23: a weak (*da'īf*) ḥadīth.



### **Hadīth 116** (The Mahdi is preceded by al-Qaḥṭānī)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === Rishdīn --- Ibn Lahī‘a --- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qais al-Ṣadafī --- his father --- his grandfather --- The Prophet.

#### **Discussion**

Apart from the weakness associated with Rishdīn and Ibn Lahī‘a, the true identity of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qais is unclear; the most probable candidate, out of three mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar under this name, seems to be the one known as al-Baṣrī, who is declared a liar by Ibn Maḥdī.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, this ḥadīth is very weak (*da‘īf jiddan*).

### **Hadīth 117** (The invasion of India)

**Isnād:** Same as Ḥadīth 12: a weak (*da‘īf*) ḥadīth.

### **Hadīth 118** (The rule of al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr and the Mahdi)

**Isnād:** Nu‘aim === al-Walīd and others --- ‘Abdullāh b. Abī ‘Utba --- al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr --- Sa‘īd b. Jubair --- Ibn ‘Abbās

#### **Discussion**

The only reporter mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar by the name of ‘Abdullāh b. Abī ‘Utba does not fit chronologically in this isnād. He is declared as trustworthy, and from the third category, although his date of death is not given; such reporters are held to be dead by the end of 110 AH; al-Walīd, who died in 195 AH, could therefore not have reported from him.

As for al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr, who is ranked to be among the reporters of the fifth category, he cannot be the one from whom a reporter of the third category narrates.

It seems, in the light of Ḥadīth 90, that ‘Abdullāh b. Abī ‘Utba has been mentioned wrongly in place of ‘Abdul Malik b. Abī Ghunayya; once this correction is made, this isnād is identical to that of Ḥadīth 90.

A similar text with a similar isnād is reported by Ibn Abī Shaiba as follows:<sup>13</sup>

Ibn Abī Shaiba --- Wakī' --- Fuḍail b. Marzūq --- Maisara b. Ḥabīb --- al-Minhāl---Sa'īd b. Jubair --- Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "From us are the three: from us is al-Saffāḥ, from us is al-Manṣūr, and from us is al-Mahdi."

The suspect reporter in this isnād is Fuḍail b. Marzūq al-Raqashī al-Kūfī, about whom Ibn Hajar says, "Truthful, but prone to speculations. He is accused of being a Shī'a." Ibn Ḥibbān says, "He has *munkar* aḥādīth. He used to commit mistakes (while narrating) on the authority of trustworthy reporters. He reported fabricated aḥādīth from Āṭiyya." He is declared weak by al-Nasā'ī and 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, but held to be reliable by Sufyān b. 'Uyaina and Ibn Ma'in. Ibn 'Adī says, "He can only be considered if he is found to be in line with trustworthy reporters."<sup>14</sup>

Hence, this text with this isnad cannot qualify as supporting evidence for the isnād of Nu'aim; both are weak (*da'īf*).

### Hadīth 119 (Events during the rule of the second Mahdi)

Isnād: Same as Ḥadīth 12: a weak (*da'īf*) ḥadīth.

### Hadīth 120 (The invasion of India)

Isnād: Nu'aim === al-Walīd === Ṣafwān b. 'Amr --- someone who reported to him --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

The man from whom Ṣafwān related is unknown; since Ṣafwān died in 155 A.H., it is implausible that there could be one reporter between him and the Prophet, who died in 11 A.H. Therefore, this ḥadīth is totally unacceptable (*da'īf*).

### Hadīth 121 (A mention of twelve caliphs)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Abū Mu'āwiya --- Dāwūd b. Abī Hind --- al-Sha'bī --- Jābir b. Samura --- The Prophet.



## Discussion

Nu‘aim's isnād<sup>15</sup> agrees with the isnād of Muslim<sup>16</sup>, who reports the same text through his shaikh Abū Bakr b. Abī Shaiba; all the reporters of this isnād are trustworthy.

Abū Dāwūd transmits this text through a completely different isnād, but which also goes back to Jābir b. Samura; his isnād is as follows:<sup>17</sup>

Abū Dāwūd === Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl === Wohaib === Dāwūd --- ‘Āmir --- Jābir b. Samura.

A slightly different text (Ḥadīth 121-a), giving the word قَائِمًا (“in existence”) in place of عَزِيزًا (“strong”), is reported by Abū Dāwūd through the following isnād:<sup>18</sup>

Abū Dāwūd === ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān === Marwān b. Mu‘āwiya --- Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālid --- his father --- Jābir b. Samura --- The Prophet.

Those two texts, with authentic isnāds, stand as witnesses for the original ḥadīth reported by Nu‘aim (*ṣaḥīḥ*).

Abū Dāwūd also reports an addition to this ḥadīth (Ḥadīth 121-b) through the following isnād:<sup>19</sup>

Abū Dāwūd === Ibn Nufail === Zuhair === Ziyād b. Khaitham == al-Asad b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥamadānī --- Jābir.

As to the question of to whom the mention of “twelve caliphs” refers, opinions vary; Shāh Walī Allāh gives the different views as follows:<sup>20</sup>

(i) They are the first four caliphs (Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), followed by Mu‘āwiya, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and his four sons, and then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Walīd b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

(ii) Mālik includes ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair among the twelve; Shāh Walī Allāh inclines towards rejecting this idea, relying on some aḥādīth which speak of Ibn al-Zubair's rule as being a major calamity.

(iii) According to Ibn Kathīr, the first four caliphs, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, some ‘Abbāsīd Khalīfas, and finally the Mahdi himself, are the twelve predicted by the Prophet.



(iv) According to the Imāmī Shī'ites, they are their twelve consecutive Imāms, beginning with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ending with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, who will appear once again as the Mahdi before the end of the world.<sup>21</sup>

### Hadīth 122 (The Mahdi at Jerusalem)

Isnād: Nu'aim === Ḍamura b. Rabī'a --- Yaḥyā b. Abī 'Amr al-Shaibānī --- 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥaḍramī --- Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī --- the Prophet.

### Discussion

A shorter version of his ḥadīth is transmitted by Abū Nu'aim, as quoted by .. Suyūṭī.<sup>22</sup> The difference between the two texts lies in the addition of word "Mahdi" in Abū Nu'aim's version: "Their Imām, the Mahdi, will be a pious person"; Nu'aim omits this word. With regard to the isnād, all three reporters between Nu'aim and Abū Umāma, a Companion, are truthful and trustworthy. Therefore, the ḥadīth is authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*).

---

## **REFERENCES FOR SECTION G**

- <sup>1</sup> DHM, 1:331-9
- <sup>2</sup> DHM, 2:643
- <sup>3</sup> HTQ, p. 277
- <sup>4</sup> DHM, 1:240-4
- <sup>5</sup> HTQ, p. 493
- <sup>6</sup> DHM, 2:139
- <sup>7</sup> HTQ, p. 539
- <sup>8</sup> HTQ, p. 177
- <sup>9</sup> HTQ, p. 148
- <sup>10</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup> HTQ, p. 321
- <sup>12</sup> DHM 3:486; HTQ, p. 348
- <sup>13</sup> Ibn Abī Shaiba, 15: no. 19488
- <sup>14</sup> HTQ, p. 448
- <sup>15</sup> NKF, folio 40
- <sup>16</sup> MS, 3:1452
- <sup>17</sup> DS, 4:106; DSA, 11:368
- <sup>18</sup> DSA, 11:361
- <sup>19</sup> DSA, 11:369
- <sup>20</sup> DSA, 11:364
- <sup>21</sup> see Section C of the Introduction to this study for a list of the twelve Imāms.
- <sup>22</sup> SH, 2:135

## CHAPTER FOUR

# ANALYSIS OF THE AHĀDĪTH OF THE LATER TRADITIONISTS

The aḥādīth of the later traditionists, of which the translations are given in Chapter Three, Part One, are now analysed according to the methodology of the traditionists.

### Hadīth 1 (The Mahdi belongs to the family of the Prophet)

Isnād: Abū Dāwūd<sup>1</sup> === ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shaiba === al-Faḍl b. Dukain === Fiṭr --- al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazza --- Abū Ṭufail --- ‘Alī --- the Prophet.

This ḥadīth has also been transmitted by Aḥmad.<sup>2</sup>

### Discussion

Although this isnād contains Fiṭr b. Khalīfa, about whom contradictory remarks have been reported (cf. Chapter 3, Ḥadīth 10), it is acceptable (*ṣaḥīḥ*) because of a similar text (Chapter 3, Ḥadīth 87) advanced by four asānīd, one of which is also through Fiṭr.

### Hadīth 2 (Al-Ḥārith and al-Manṣūr supporting the family of the Prophet)

Isnād: Abū Dāwūd<sup>3</sup> --- Hārūn === ‘Amr b. Abī Qais --- Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf --- Abū l-Ḥasan --- Hilāl b. ‘Amr === ‘Alī --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

Hārūn b. al-Mughīra<sup>4</sup> is declared trustworthy by al-Nasā’ī and acceptable by Abū Dāwūd.

‘Amr b. Abī Qais is accepted by Abū Dāwūd, but al-Dhahabī says about him, “He is truthful, but speculates.”<sup>5</sup>

Muṭarrif is a trustworthy person.<sup>6</sup>

Neither Abū l-Ḥasan<sup>7</sup> nor Hilāl b. ‘Amr<sup>8</sup> are known to al-Dhahabī.

Owing to these last two unknown reporters, this ḥadīth is not acceptable (*bāṭil*).



### Hadīth 3 (People from the East establish rule for the Mahdi)

Isnād: Ibn Māja<sup>9</sup> === Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā al-Miṣri and Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jauharī === Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. Dāwūd al-Ḥarrānī === Ibn Lahī'a --- Abū Zur'a 'Amr b. Jābir al-Ḥaḍramī --- 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Jaz' al-Zabīdī === The Prophet.

#### Discussion

As well as Ibn Lahī'a, who is deemed unacceptable if found to be quoted by others than the four 'Abdullāhs (cf. Chapter 3, Ḥadīth 8), the presence of Abū Zur'a 'Amr b. Jābir (cf. Chapter 3, Ḥadīth 64) is enough to render this ḥadīth totally unacceptable (*bāṭil*).

### Hadīth 4 (The Mahdi is no other than 'Īsā b. Maryam)

Isnād: Ibn Māja<sup>10</sup> --- Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā --- Shaf'i --- Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Janadī --- Abān b. Ṣāliḥ --- Ḥasan --- Anas b. Mālik --- The Prophet.

#### Discussion

This ḥadīth is declared *munkar* by Dhahabī<sup>11</sup> on the following grounds:

- (i) In another isnād, Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā said :  
'I have been reported by Shaf'i'. This shows that he did not listen from Shaf'i directly.
- (ii) Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Janadī is declared to be ambiguous by Ḥākim and *munkar al-ḥadīth* by Azdī.<sup>12</sup>
- (iii) Abān b. Ṣāliḥ is a trustworthy person, but he did not hear directly from Ḥasan.
- (iv) The text is also reported by Ḥākim through the same isnād, but he adds:

Ṣāmit b. Mu'ādh said, "I went to al-Janad, a place at a distance of two days' journey from San'ā (Yemen), where I met a traditionist. I enquired about this ḥadīth, on which he disclosed it to me with the following isnād: Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Janadī --- Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh --- Ḥasan --- The Prophet."<sup>13</sup>

Dhahabī remarks, "(By this,) the whole isnād is exposed and shattered"<sup>14</sup>, referring to the fact that this isnād replaces Abān b. Ṣāliḥ by Abān b. Abī ‘Ayyāsh, who is totally unreliable.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, it does not give the name of the reporter between Ḥasan and the Prophet, so it is *mursal*.

Ḥākim has transmitted this text without the last phrase (i.e. "The Mahdi is no other than ‘Īsā b. Maryam") through a completely different isnād going back to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Suhaib, who also reported it from Anas b. Mālīk. Hence, it can safely be concluded that the last phrase regarding the Mahdi has not been authentically-established at all, and that the isnād of Ibn Māja . and Ḥākim, which contains this phrase, is not only *da‘īf* (weak) but *munkar*.

### Hadīth 5 (The Mahdi belongs to the Prophet's posterity)

Isnād: Abū Nu‘aim<sup>16</sup> === Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. al-‘Abbās al-Rāmahurmuzī in his book === Hammām b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb === Ṭālūt b. ‘Abbād === Suwaid b. Ibrāhīm --- Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar --- Abī Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Auf --- his father --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

The crucial figure in this isnād is Suwaid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-‘Attār; according to Dhahabī<sup>17</sup>, Ibn Ma‘īn is the only one who speaks favourably of him, saying,

'I hope that there is nothing wrong with him' ( أَرْجُو أَلَّا يَكُونَ بِهِ بَأْسٌ ).

However, Nasā’ī, Abū Zur‘a and Ibn ‘Adī declare him as weak; Ibn Hibbān says, "He reports spurious aḥādīth on the authority of trustworthy reporters. He is the one who narrated the saying of the flea; i.e. that a Prophet heard a man abusing a flea, so he said to him, 'Do not abuse it because it woke one of the Prophets for the morning prayer'."

Because of this reporter, this text is considered unreliable, although the meaning in general has been proved to be authentic through other asānīd, as has been discussed previously.

### Hadīth 6 (The Mahdi will conquer Constantina and Mount Dailum)

Isnād: Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī in his Musnad<sup>18</sup> === Qais b. al-Rabī’ --- Abī Ḥaṣīn --- Abū Ṣāliḥ --- Abū Huraira --- The Prophet .



## Discussion

Qais b. al-Rabī' had a bad memory; al-Bukhārī says in his *al-Tārīkh al-Awsaṭ* that Qais was disparaged because of his son, who used to insert sayings of the people in his father's book without his knowledge.<sup>19</sup>

Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is declared trustworthy by Ibn Ma'īn and Ibn 'Adī, but is declared a liar by Aḥmad and Ibn Numair; . Nasā'ī views him as weak.<sup>20</sup>

Abū Ḥaṣīn is labelled as unknown by . Dhahabī<sup>21</sup>, as is his shaikh, Abū Ṣāliḥ<sup>22</sup>.

Therefore, due to several unreliable reporters, this ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa'īf*).

## Hadīth 7 ('Īsā b. Maryam will pray behind a man from the Prophet's family)

Isnād: Abū Nu'aim<sup>23</sup> === Abū l-Farāj al-Iṣbahānī --- Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain --- Abū Ja'far b. Ṭāriq --- al-Jid b. Naẓīf --- Abū Naḍra --- Abū Sa'īd --- The Prophet.

## Discussion

Ibn al-Qayyim remarks about this ḥadīth, "This isnād is not authentic, but there is a similar ḥadīth on the authority of 'Aṭiyya b. 'Āmir which is transmitted by Ibn Hibbān in his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*."<sup>24</sup>

Ibn al-Qayyim's verdict seems to be correct, since two of its reporters, Abū Ja'far b. Ṭāriq and al-Jid b. Naẓīf, are not traceable in the books of *Rijāl*.

## Hadīth 8 ('Īsā b. Maryam prays behind the Mahdi)

Isnād: al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma in his Musnad<sup>25</sup> === Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm === Ibrāhīm b. 'Aqīl --- his father --- Wahb b. Munabbih --- Jābir --- The Prophet

## Discussion

. Suyūṭī has mentioned that this ḥadīth is also reported by Abū Nu'aim<sup>26</sup>. All the reporters of this isnād are trustworthy and reliable, so this ḥadīth is acceptable (*ṣaḥīḥ*).



## Hadīth 9 (Some attributes of the Mahdi)

Isnād: ... Ṭabarānī<sup>27</sup> === Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Mālikī === Abū Ja‘far === Muḥamad b. Salama --- Abū l-Wāṣil --- Abū al-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī --- al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd al-Sa‘da (one of the Banū Bahdala) --- Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī --- The Prophet.

### Discussion

Suyūṭī mentions this ḥadīth as being transmitted by Abū Nu‘aim<sup>28</sup>, without quoting the latter’s isnād; ... Haithami gave his verdict by saying, “In this isnād there are a number of reporters whom I do not know.”<sup>29</sup>

A study of all the reporters in this isnād is thus necessary in order to verify this statement:

a) About Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Iqāl al-Ḥarrānī, the shaikh of Ṭabarānī, Abū ‘Arūba says, “He is not dependable in the matter of his religion.”<sup>30</sup>

b) Abū Ja‘far: ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Nufail al-Ḥarrānī, is trustworthy and a *Hāfiẓ*.<sup>31</sup>

c) Muḥammad b. Salama: there are several reporters by this name. The one mentioned here is most probably the one known as Muḥammad b. Salama b. ‘Abdullāh al-Bāhili al-Ḥarrānī, who is declared as trustworthy. He died in 191 AH.<sup>32</sup>

d) Abū l-Wāṣil is not traceable in the books of *Rijāl*. ... Ṭabarānī says about this particular isnād, “A number of reporters narrated this ḥadīth from Abū l-Ṣiddīq, but none of them except Abū l-Wāṣil mentioned an intermediary between Abū l-Ṣiddīq and Abū Sa‘īd” (i.e. the reporter, al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd al-Sa‘da)<sup>33</sup>.

Hence, this ḥadīth is weak (*ḍa‘īf*) because of the shaikh of Ṭabarānī and Abū l-Wāṣil.

## Hadīth 10 (The Mahdi is in the middle of the *Ummah*)

### Isnād:

1) ... Baihaqī (Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain)<sup>34</sup> === al-Ḥākim (Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh) === Abū Zakariyya al-‘Anbarī === Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaid === al-Ḥasan b. Jarīr al-Sūrī --- ‘Alī b. Hāshim === Khālīd b. Yazīd === Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm === *Amīr al-Mu’minīn* --- his father --- Ibn ‘Abbās === The Prophet.

2) *Imām al-Ḥaramain*, ‘Abdullāh b. Yūsuf<sup>35</sup> === Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī === Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Mūsā === Ibn Bashīr al-Dimashqī === ‘Abdullāh b. Mu‘ād === Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Qaṣrī === Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām === Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, *Amīr al-Mu’minīn* --- his father --- his grandfather --- Ibn ‘Abbās --- The Prophet

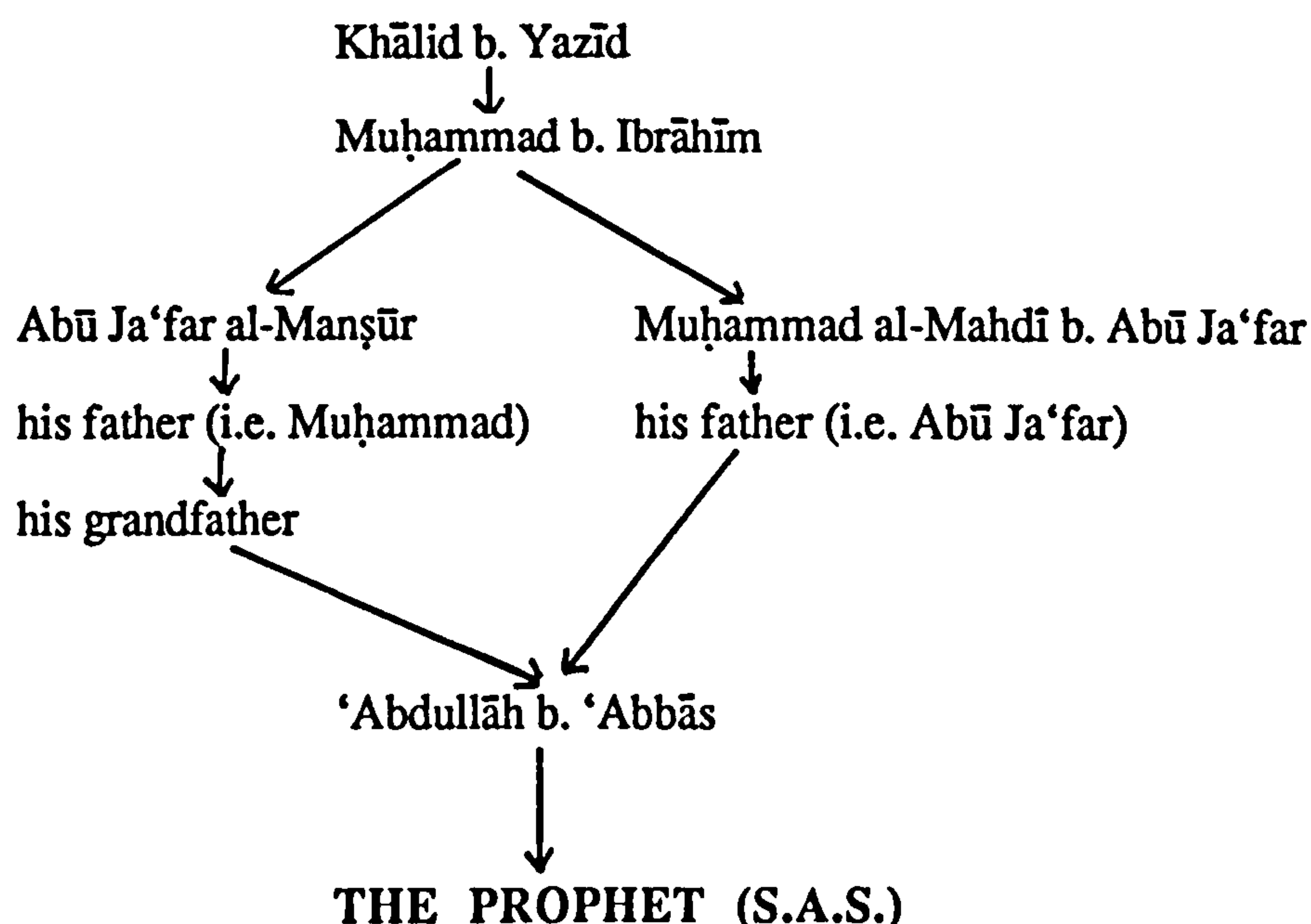
### Discussion

...Suyūṭī quotes Abū Nu‘aim as giving this ḥadīth, but does not give an isnād.<sup>36</sup> The above two asānīd are given by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ayyid al-Juwainī al-Khurāsānī (d. 730 AH), a traditionist of the eighth century, one going back to ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās through ... Baihaqī and the other through Imām al-Ḥaramain al-Juwainī, in his book entitled *Farā’id al-Samṭain*.

Al-Albānī<sup>37</sup> declares this ḥadīth to be spurious (*mauḍū‘*), but he does not explain the basis for his verdict. We therefore have to examine these two asānīd, both of which contain Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Qaṣrī, but differ slightly after him. The following diagram shows the difference:

#### Isnad no. 1

#### Isnad no. 2





The following points should be noted:

a) Khālīd b. Yazīd is declared 'not strong' by Abū Ḥātim.<sup>38</sup> Ibn 'Adī says, "No witness is found for his asānīd: neither for the isnād, nor for the text. He is weak in my opinion."<sup>39</sup>

b) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muslim al-Baghdādī is declared to be an Imām in Ḥadīth by Abū Bakr al-Khallāl. Ibn Ḥibbān says, "He committed mistakes whenever he narrated from his memory, so I can only consider as authentic those aḥādīth which he wrote down."<sup>40</sup>

c) Neither al-Mahdi, the third 'Abbāsīd Caliph (d. 168), nor his father Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsīd Caliph (d. 158 AH), were known as traditionists: this is why the books of *Rijāl* do not mention them.

d) Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās is mentioned by Abū Ḥātim as being among the reporters of ḥadīth.<sup>41</sup>

e) The discrepancy found in the isnād is very clear: the first isnād goes through al-Manṣūr, who reports through his father and grandfather; the second isnād goes through al-Mahdi, who reports from his father al-Manṣūr, who quotes Ibn 'Abbās directly.

## Conclusion

The text of this ḥadīth gives a clue to its fabrication: this is the only ḥadīth in which the Mahdi is declared to be someone appearing in the middle period of the Muslim Umma ; all other ahadith state that he will appear near the end of the world. It would seem that this ḥadīth was fabricated at the instruction of Abū Ja'far in order to give credence to the rule of his son, al-Mahdi. The involvement of both al-Manṣūr and Mahdi in the isnād supports the idea that this ḥadīth is a fabricated one. Moreover, Nu'aim b. Ḥammād<sup>42</sup> transmits a similar text with a weak isnād, on the authority of Ka'b, which does not contain the disputed phrase,

« وَالْمَهْدِيُّ فِي وَسْطِهَا »

("... the Mahdi in its middle"), but simply says,

« كَيْفَ تَصْلِكُ أُمَّةً أَنَا أَوَّلُهَا وَ الْمَسِيحُ آخِرُهَا »

("How can that ummah perish, of which I am its first and Christ is its last ?")



This also supports the idea that a mention of the Mahdi in this ḥadīth is a later fabrication.

### **Hadīth 11** (About the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya)

**Isnād:** Ibn Abī Shaiba<sup>43</sup> --- ‘Abdullāh b. Numair === Mūsā al-Juhanī === ‘Umar b. Qais al-Māṣir === Mujāhid === someone from among the Companions of the Prophet.

### **Discussion**

According to Ibn Ḥajar, the three reporters: Ibn Numair<sup>44</sup>, Mūsā al-Juhanī<sup>45</sup>, and ‘Umar b. al-Māṣir<sup>46</sup>, are all trustworthy and reliable. Hence, as far as the isnād is concerned, this ḥadīth is sound but it still remains to be verified whether or not this is a saying of Mujāhid, who does not name his immediate authority. Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād has mentioned the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in six different places (folios 97, 175, 177, 179, 180 and 184, which occurs as Ḥadīth 55 under Nu‘aim's collection). Not a single isnād is free from defect, so a lot of doubt also surrounds the isnād of Ibn Abī Shaiba. In the context of the events which took place in the times of al-Manṣūr, the second ‘Abbāsīd Caliph, as to be discussed later, this ḥadīth also seems to be fabricated (*mauḍū‘*).

---

## REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

- <sup>1</sup> DS, 4:107
- <sup>2</sup> AM, 1:99
- <sup>3</sup> DSA, 11:383
- <sup>4</sup> DHM, 4:287
- <sup>5</sup> DHM, 3:285
- <sup>6</sup> HTQ, p. 534
- <sup>7</sup> DHM, 4:515
- <sup>8</sup> DHM, 4:315
- <sup>9</sup> JS, 2:1368
- <sup>10</sup> JS, 2:1340, 1341
- <sup>11</sup> DHM, 3:535
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> HMK, 4:441
- <sup>14</sup> DHM, 3:536
- <sup>15</sup> DHM, 1:10-12
- <sup>16</sup> SH, 2:132 - Ibn al-Qayyim: *al-Manār*, p. 146
- <sup>17</sup> DHM, 1:247
- <sup>18</sup> *al-Manār*, p. 147
- <sup>19</sup> DHM, 3:393-5
- <sup>20</sup> DHM, 4:392
- <sup>21</sup> DHM, 4:516
- <sup>22</sup> DHM, 4:538
- <sup>23</sup> SH, 2:134
- <sup>24</sup> *al-Manār*, p. 147
- <sup>25</sup> *al-Manār*, p. 147
- <sup>26</sup> SH, 2:132
- <sup>27</sup> TMA, 2:47
- <sup>28</sup> SH, 2:131
- <sup>29</sup> HMZ, 7:317
- <sup>30</sup> DHM, 1:116
- <sup>31</sup> HTQ, p. 321
- <sup>32</sup> HTQ, p. 481
- <sup>33</sup> TMA, 2:48
- <sup>34</sup> al-Juwainī: *Farā'id al-Samā'ain*, 2:339; Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:192
- <sup>35</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>36</sup> SH, 2:134
- <sup>37</sup> LJD, 5:36
- <sup>38</sup> AHK, 3:359
- <sup>39</sup> DHM, 1:647
- <sup>40</sup> DHM, 3:447; KZK, p. 324
- <sup>41</sup> AHK, 7:301
- <sup>42</sup> NKF, folio 327

---

43 SHM, 15: no. 19499

44 HTQ, p. 327

45 HTQ, p. 552

46 HTQ, p. 416



## CHAPTER FIVE

# AN HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE AHĀDĪTH CONCERNING THE MAHDI

The most exhaustive and lucid criticisms of ahadith concerning the Mahdi to have been advanced by the Orientalists are those of D.S. Margoliouth and Wilfred Madelung. The former's article entitled "On Mahdis and Mahdism" appeared in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (December 1915 issue)<sup>1</sup> and in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*<sup>2</sup>, while the latter has contributed to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* under "Mahdi"<sup>3</sup> and to the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* under the title of "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair and the Mahdi."<sup>4</sup> Both writers view that the ahadith about the Mahdi reflect the political events beginning with the disturbance (*fitna*) during the fourth Caliphate and lasting till the middle of second century.

## SECTION A

### D.S. Margoliouth: 'On Mahdis and Mahdism'

To begin with, Margoliouth thinks that the concept of a deliverer, as present in both Judaism and Christianity, must have found its way into Islām, particularly in the period of the Fitnah when the general moral and political conditions began to deteriorate. According to him, the first person to use the term 'Mahdi' was probably al-Mukhtār, when he addressed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as al-Mahdi in order to achieve some of his own political ambitions; however, he believes that the letter attributed to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya which contains this word must have been a fabrication by later historians because the word does not appear in Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's letter to Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar, as recorded by al-Dainūrī: it simply says, "From Muḥammad b. 'Alī to Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar: al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaid seeks revenge for the blood of al-Ḥusain. Therefore, help him in this cause and co-operate with him - Allāh will reward you in this world and also with the best in the Hereafter."<sup>5</sup> He says that al-Ṭabarī argued against the authenticity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's letter to al-Mukhtār. So, according to his analysis, the most likely person to have first used this word was Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya: the title *al-Mahdi* was used frequently in his correspondence with al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsīd Caliph.



On the other hand, Margoliouth is forced to admit that this term had been in circulation during the times of the Umayyads. He quotes al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, a poet of the *Kaysāniyya* (followers of al-Mukhtār), attributing this title to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya. But he rejects the poet Kuthayyir's statement that Ka'b al-Aḥbār believed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to be the Mahdi, pronouncing it to be a fable, just like the claims during the time of the Prophet that Ibn al-Ṣayyād was the Dajjāl. Margoliouth then quotes another story which says that when Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya intended to move towards al-Mukhtār at Kūfa, the latter wished to avoid his company because he had been exploiting the former's name, so he wrote to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, saying that the people believed that the sword could not penetrate a true Mahdi; this was a clear discouragement from coming to Kūfā. Margoliouth concludes that if this story is true, it is possible that the idea of a deliverer (al-Mahdi) was widely-known to the people at that time.

I disagree with Margoliouth in his assumption that the word 'Mahdi' was not known until after the advent of al-Mukhtār in the second half of the first century or at the time of the appearance of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in the second century. How can he ignore the use of this word by the Prophet as recorded by Abū Dāwūd and later traditionists of the third century? Each of such narrations refers back to the Prophet through a continuous isnād consisting of reporters who lived during the first two centuries after the death of the Prophet: the existence of these asānīd shows that the aḥādīth, and hence this word, were well-known to the people of these times. It is therefore advisable to evaluate the various aḥādīth by scrutinising their reporters in accordance with the way of the traditionists, as has been observed in this study.

Secondly, it is nonsensical to challenge the use of the word 'Mahdi' in the times of al-Mukhtār simply because a letter in which this term was used has been shown to be fabricated. There are a number of other sources which recorded this term, such as Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Kathīr, and they cannot be ignored.

Ibn Sa'd reports:

Mūsā b. Ismā'īl narrated to us === Abū 'Awāna --- Abū Hamza, who said: They used to greet Muḥammad b. 'Alī by saying, "Peace be upon you, O Mahdi." So he said, "No doubt, I am Mahdi; I lead towards guidance and good. My name is that of the Prophet of Allāh and my *kunya* is also that of the Prophet of Allah. Therefore, if one of you wishes to greet me, he should say, 'Peace be upon you, O Muḥammad. Peace be upon you, O Abū 'l-Qāsim'."6

Ibn Kathīr quotes al-Mukhtār's letter to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, which he sent with the heads of 'Umar b. Sa'd and his son Ḥafṣ after killing them. He addresses him in the following way:



“In the name of Allāh, Most Beneficent, Most Merciful. To Muḥammad b. ‘Alī from al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubaid: Peace be upon you, O Mahdi.”

He concludes the letter with the same greeting.<sup>7</sup>

The author of *al-Firaq*, ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir quotes the following line of ‘Āmir b. Wāthila al-Kinānī about Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, again showing that the term ‘Mahdi’ was known at the time:

يَا إِخْوَتِي يَا شَيْعَتِي لَا تَبْعُدُوا  
وَوَازِرُوا الْمَهْدِيَّ كَيْمَا تَهْتَدُوا

“O my brothers! O my party! Do not keep your distance, But support the Mahdi, so that you may be on guidance.”<sup>8</sup>

As well as the great pains which Margoliouth takes to draw a comparison between the concept of a deliverer in Judaism and Christianity and the concept of the Mahdi in Islām, he also directs his criticism at the word ‘Mahdi’ itself.

He writes that by calling ‘Alī *al-Hādī* (المهدي) and *Imām al-Hudā* (إمام الهدى), Ibn Sa’d indicates that ‘Alī must have passed on some esoteric knowledge to his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, who in turn passed it on to his son Abū ‘l-Hāshim; the latter was so impressed by the personality of the ‘Abbāsīd leader Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdullāh in the last days of Umayyads that he passed on this knowledge to him, and thus ended the sole claim of ‘Alawids to the Imāmate. The ‘Abbāsīds were later quite happy to argue, on the basis of this transfer of knowledge, that the ‘Alawid claims to the caliphate were unjustified since this right was no longer confined to the descendants of Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet.

Margliouth, however, does not seem to be very enthusiastic about this conclusion. He quotes narrations in which ‘Alī and his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya both denied possessing such hidden knowledge. According to one narration, on being questioned about such knowledge, ‘Alī denied possessing any, except what was preserved in his manuscript kept in the sheath of his sword; the few aḥādīth found in this manuscript were related to the issue of blood-money and were known only by him.

These two opinions advanced by Margoliouth are too flawed to be left unchallenged. Firstly, there is no such affinity between the concept of the Saviour in Judasim and Christianity and that of the Mahdi in Islām. The concept of a deliverer is based on the concept of salvation: for the Jews, the Messiah is yet to come, while the Christians believe that the Messiah had already appeared, and will return. The Islamic concept of the Mahdi is entirely



different, for he will not be a saviour of any description, but simply a renewer of the faith. Even the descent of the Messiah, 'Īsā b. Maryam will be, for the Muslims, only a final testimony of truth which the two great nations of the Jews and the Christians can witness; his appearance will prove the mistake of the Jews in rejecting him initially, and in following al-Masīh al-Dajjāl (the Anti-Christ), whom he will kill; he will also disprove the Christian belief that he is the Son of God.

Secondly, regarding Margoliouth's suggestions regarding the word 'Mahdi', the dogma of esoteric knowledge being passed by the Prophet to 'Alī is confined exclusively to the Shī'ites; the Kaisāniyya believe that 'Alī passed this knowledge to his son Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, while according to the Imāmiyya (Ithnā 'Ashariyya), it was to his son Ḥusain. The Ahl al-Sunna hold the opinion quoted from 'Alī himself in rejecting such hidden knowledge. One narration transmitted by 'Abd al-Razzāq which could be construed as referring to this hidden knowledge is Ka'b's statement, "He is named 'Mahdi' because he guides to a matter which is hidden." However, the weakness of this report has already been explained.<sup>9</sup>

Margoliouth also thinks that Maṣūdi's application of this term to Zaid b. 'Alī (d. 122 AH) is also not authentic because Ṭabarī never mentions this term for Zaid; instead he uses the word 'al-Manṣūr' for him. However, his article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Margliouth quotes an Umayyad poet who ridiculed the dead man by saying, "I did not see a Mahdi crucified on a tree"<sup>10</sup>, and argues in favour of the concept of Mahdi being known to the people in those times. All such statements, in my opinion, show that the term Mahdi was well-known among the people. A number of claimants tried to exploit this concept but the events did not turn out well for them.

Margoliouth concludes, justifiably in my opinion, that the unsuccessful demise of each claimant, whether it be Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya or al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, led the Shī'ites to deny the death of their claimant and wait for in his re-appearance at a later time. This belief in occultations and re-appearances has been a main feature of the concept of the Mahdi among the Shī'ites. Margoliouth gives various examples of movements with this characteristic; among them are the call of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī who used to work for Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh, the hidden Imām. The Jarudiyya wait for the appearance of Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Yaḥyā b. 'Umar. Many believe also in the occultations of Mūsā b. Ja'far (183 AH), Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (219 AH) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (256 AH). Margoliouth quotes Ibn Baṭūta (d. 780 AH), who described the Shī'ites of Hilla as still awaiting the return of their hidden Imām at any time and shouting out to him outside the mosque, "O Master of the Age, come out, for corruption has prevailed."

Margoliouth then considers the issue in etymological terms, and proceeds to show the slight possibility of a link between the idea of the Mahdi and that of



‘someone preparing the way for him’, as understood from the word *mahhada* (مَهْدًا) in the following statements:

“certain persons shall come out from the East and prepare the way for the Mahdi” and “who shall prepare the way for the family of Muhammad, even as the Quraish prepared the way for the Prophet.” Thus, the Mahdi is ‘the one for whom the way is prepared’ (مُهَدَّيْ)

Margoliouth further shows how such preparation materialised in the case of the Fatimid kingdom of Egypt. Here, it seems that Margoliouth has been misled by the English translations of the above two statements. Nowhere is the word (مَهْدًا) used. Instead, the words (وَقَطَعَ) and (مَكَنَ) are used in the first and second narrations respectively.

Margoliouth also mentions that some etymologists believe that the word ‘Mahdi’ could be derived from *mahd* (مَهْدٌ, cradle). Hence the ḥadīth:

لَا مَهْدِيَّ إِلَّا عَيْسَى

would mean, “No one spoke in the cradle except ‘Isā’”. In any case, the ḥadīth is itself weak, and it contradicts the more authentic aḥādīth which speak clearly of the name of Mahdi along with the name of his father and his *kunya*.<sup>11</sup>

Margoliouth then presents the arguments advanced by Ibn Khaldūn in rejecting the aḥādīth of Mahdi in general. He begins by arguing that, despite his widely-acclaimed collection of the most authentic aḥādīth, Bukhārī failed to report a single ḥadīth about the Mahdi. Secondly, Ibn Khaldūn says that he did not believe that supreme power in the state could be secured except through clan-patriotism and held that in his time, the eighth century of Islam, the Prophet's family were nowhere, except perhaps in Arabia, possessed of such clan-organization as would permit them to come thus to the front.

Margoliouth himself rejects this second argument, saying, “Historically, he was not altogether justified in this theory; for both after and before his time, Mahdis were able to achieve a very considerable measure of success.”<sup>12</sup>

Going back to the first point, al-Bukhārī never claimed to have recorded every *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth in his collection. It is well-known that his book contains about eight thousand aḥādīth, half of which are repeated in different chapters. A sizeable number of *ṣaḥīḥ* aḥādīth which he left out were recorded by his contemporaries such as Muslim, Abū Dawūd, Nasā'ī, Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja, and much was later accomplished in this regard by Ḥākim in his *al-Mustadrak*. Bukhārī himself wrote, “I did not record anything in *al-Jāmi'* except what proved to be *ṣaḥīḥ*, and I left out many *ṣaḥīḥ* aḥādīth for reasons of length.”<sup>13</sup>

Margoliouth claims that many of the characteristics of the Mahdi related to the political dominance of Islam, as personified in the form of the conquest of



Constantinople, are attributed to the Mahdi. It seems difficult to reconcile this character of the Mahdi with the actual conquest of Constantinople at the hands of the Ottoman Sultan Muḥammad al-Fātih in the fifteenth century.

As for the appearance of the Mahdi near the end of time, Margoliouth thinks that the idea is a later development, and could have been affected by the Jews and Christians. I do not share this view: the very aḥādīth which speak of the Mahdi prophecy his appearance in the same age as the descent of the Messiah, who is held to be a sign of the Last Hour.<sup>14</sup>

Margoliouth then quotes one ḥadīth of Tirmidhī which says that the Mahdi will live for seven or nine years and will pour out money in great quantities. The fabricator of this ḥadīth, in his opinion, has confused *mahdi* (مُحَدِّي) with *muhdi* (مُحْدِي), “one who gives gifts.” I think that this attribute of the Mahdi is given as one of his many distinctive features; it does not necessarily mean that it explains the word Mahdi with a slight variation in its etymology (subject form instead of object).

Margoliouth also quotes Ibn Māja's ḥadīth that the Mahdi will appear with black flags, saying that it reflects the events associated with Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, who appeared with black flags. Ibn Kathīr commented on this ḥadīth by saying, “These flags are not the ones which Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī carried with him and with which he toppled the rule of Banū Umayya in 232 AH, but they will be different ones, which will appear in the company of al-Mahdi, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-‘Alawī al-Fātimī, al-Ḥasanī, may Allāh be pleased with him ...”<sup>15</sup>

However, this ḥadīth and similar ones which discuss in detail the encounter between the Mahdi and the Sufyānī, are unable to withstand the criticisms of the traditionists, which strengthens the view that they may have been a reflection of the political scene at the end of the Umayyad rule.

Margoliouth criticises the aḥādīth related to the genealogy of the Mahdi going back to Fātima and other aḥādīth which leave the origin of the Mahdi somewhere in the East. He thinks that they have been fabricated by various groups in order to support their claims.

The authentic aḥādīth clearly show that the Mahdi will be a descendant of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. On the basis that this is true, it can safely be assumed that various factions at different times attempted to manipulate this concept, even to the extent of including the ‘Abbāsids, but this does not undermine the authenticity of the concept of the original Mahdi.

Finally, Margoliouth gives a list of claimants to Mahdiyya who were not successful in their movements, such as Ṣāliḥ of Africa, a Sultan of Timbuktu, Ibn T umart, the founder of ‘Ubaidī dynasty, Ibn Abī ‘Umāra of Sajalmāsa, Abū Muḥallī of the same place, Muḥammad Jaunpūrī of India, and lastly the



Mahdi of Sudan. He says that al-Mahdi al-Sanūsī of Libya rejects the claim of the Mahdi of Sudan, on the grounds that al-Sanusi bears the mark similar to that of the naevus of the Prophet on his shoulder. He also speaks of a man who appeared in Bukhāra in 1887, named al-Ḥārith and assisted by his commander al-Mansūr. It seems, according to Margoliouth, that this man has heavily relied upon a ḥadīth narrated by Abū Dāwūd which gives these two names as a prelude to the Mahdi. Margoliouth also speaks of a number of claimants of Mahdiyya in contemporary Nigeria. However, these details are not significant for this chapter.

---

## REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER FIVE, SECTION A

- <sup>1</sup> D.S. Margoliouth: *On Mahdis and Mahdism*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Dec. 1915, vii pp.1-21.
- <sup>2</sup> D.S. Margoliouth: *Mahdi*, Encyclopedia of Morals and Ethics, viii pp.336-340.
- <sup>3</sup> Wilfred Madelung: *Mahdi*, Encyclopedia of Islam, pp. 1231-9.
- <sup>4</sup> Wilfred Madelung: '*Abd Allāh b. Al-Zubayr and the Mahdi*, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1981, xi pp. 291-305.
- <sup>5</sup> Al-Dīnawarī: *Al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 289.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5:154.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibn Kathīr: *Al-Bidāya wa l-Nihāya*, 8:247.
- <sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (d. 429 AH): *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, p. 53.
- <sup>9</sup> cf. Chapter 2, Ḥadīth 4.
- <sup>10</sup> D.S. Margoliouth: *P.O.B.A.*, p. 9.
- <sup>11</sup> cf. Chapter 4, Ḥadīth 4
- <sup>12</sup> *ibid*, p.10.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibn Ḥajar: *Al-Hady al-Sarī*, 1:289.
- <sup>14</sup> cf. sura al-Zukhruf, 43:61
- <sup>15</sup> Ibn Kathīr: *Al-Nihāya*, p. 29.

## SECTION B

### Wilfred Madelung on 'Mahdi'

One of the prolific writers on the subject of the Mahdi is Wilfred Madelung, who undertakes an elaborate study of a number of aḥādīth on the topic in an article in the *Encyclopedia of Islām*.<sup>1</sup> This study is discussed critically below.

Madelung begins with discussion of the history of the word 'Mahdi': the root of the word is the three Arabic letters *hā'*, *dāl*, and *yā'*, which is commonly applied to the divine guidance. Ḥassān b. Thābit applied this term to the Prophet; Jarīr to the Prophet Ibrāhīm; Sulaimān b. Ṣard to Ḥusain after his martyrdom; and Farazdaq to Walīd, the sixth Umayyad caliph. Madelung thinks that this term became widespread during the second civil war, particularly after the death of Mu'āwiya, and was applied to anyone who restored Islam to its pristine purity. In a separate article entitled "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī"<sup>2</sup>, he analyses its application to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the light of the ḥadīth of Umm Salama, about which further discussion will be made later.

He then proceeds to say that al-Mukhtār applied this term to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, whereas a number of people thought of Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa as the real Mahdi who would claim the caliphate, although in the event, he declined it. Jarīr and Farazdaq later portrayed Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad caliph as a Mahdi. Jarīr further referred to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz as 'Mahdi' because of his piety, and then to Hishām as well. His rival Farazdaq did not hesitate in honouring Yazīd II and later his son, Walīd II, with this title.

Madelung points to the numerous sayings of the Prophet which speak of the advent of a man to appear at the end of time who would be so generous as to give away wealth without counting it, as reported by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and Jābir al-Anṣārī. He also reports the ḥadīth of Abū Huraira about a certain Qaḥṭānī who would lead the people with his stick. Madelung thinks that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath (d. 80 AH), a Qaḥṭānī by origin, was intended by this prediction.

In the opinion of Madelung, aḥādīth pronouncing Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz or some Umayyad Caliphs as Mahdi had been circulated to counter similar ones which were widespread, especially in Kūfa, in support of the



‘Alawids or Ahl al-Bait (the family of the Prophet). He continues that the loyalty of the people of Ḥimṣ to the Umayyads was manifested in aḥādīth showing the Mahdi to be from the tribe of Quraish with an origin in Yemen, as reported by Shuraiḥ b. Ābida al-Ḥimṣī (d. 108 AH).<sup>3</sup> In Baṣra, says Madelung, the support for ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz came from Abū Qilāba (d. 107 AH), a supporter of the cause of the Umayyads, whereas reporters such as Abū Naḍra (d. 109 AH) and Abū l-A‘lā al-Āmirī (d. 108) vehemently rejected this claim. As for Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110), he did not reject ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as the Mahdi if the rightful owner of this title is to be found in this Ummah, but considered ‘Īsā b. Maryam to be the most likely candidate. His contemporary Ibn Sīrīn (d. 110) shared his view and added that ‘Īsā would pray behind the Mahdi, who excels both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.<sup>4</sup> Madelung’s view on the ḥadīth of Umm Salama, as reported through Qatādah (d.117) will be discussed later, as mentioned earlier.

Madelung further writes that Maṭar b. Tahmān (d. 125) denied that ‘Umar could be a Mahdi. Instead, he relied upon the sayings of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, which accredited the Mahdi with some special duties, such as finding the original text of Taurāt and Injīl from Antioch, fighting the Romans and bringing forth the Ark of Divine Presence (*Tābūt al-Sakīna*). Madelung also discusses the ḥadīth of Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī, through Zaid al-‘Immī and Sulaimān b. ‘Ābid al-Sulamī, which describes the abundance of wealth in the time of the Mahdi, who would rule for seven or nine years and would have an aquiline nose and a bald forehead.

In the opinion of Madelung, aḥādīth supporting the claims of Ahl al-Bait, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya in particular, had been circulated in Kūfa by ‘Āṣim b. Bahdala (d. 127) who reported from Zirr b. Ḥubaish, a supporter of the ‘Alawids and the most likely fabricator of such aḥādīth. It is notable that the supporters of Zaid b. ‘Alī (d. 120), in spite of the circulation of these aḥādīth, did not apply them to Zaid, but believed that a hidden person, with the title of Manṣūr, would be the rightful Mahdi.

Madelung says that the ḥadīth, “*God will give him success in a single night*”<sup>5</sup>, which is primarily reported by Fiṭr b. Khalīfa (d. 153), could have been a fabrication of the Companion, Abū l-Ṭufail ‘Āmir b. Wāthila (d. 100 AH), who was known to be a supporter of the ‘Alawids. This ḥadīth favours the claim of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, as his son Ibrāhīm was one of the narrators in Kūfa. The reporter ‘Āṭiyya b. Sa‘d b. Junudah al-Qaisī (d. 111 or 127) applied the title of السَّخَّاح (*al-Saffāḥ*: the generous or blood-letter) to al-Mahdi in a ḥadīth which goes back to Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī.

Madelung believes that the ‘Abbāsids, on the other hand, exploited these aḥādīth for their own benefit. The first caliph thus took the title of *al-*



*Saffāh*, while the second caliph named himself al-Manṣūr and named his son al-Mahdi, although he was bitterly challenged by the ‘Alawī Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥasanī (d. 145). He opines that the ḥadīth about the appearance of black flags, reported by Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād (d. 136) in Khurāsān on the authority of ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd<sup>6</sup>, reflects the political developments at the end of the Umayyad period, when the ‘Abbāsids were trying to establish their rule. At the very same time, Khālīd al-Hadhdhā (d. 141) introduced similar sayings in Baṣra, such as the ḥadīth “*Three men, each one the son of a caliph, will fight at your treasure ...*” He says that the ‘Abbāsids must have found these aḥādīth useful to advance their claim. One example is the ḥadīth of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ghunayya on the authority of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās that the Prophet said, “*From us is al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī*”<sup>7</sup> and the one on the authority of Abū Sa‘īd which says, “*The Qā’im is from us.*” As for the hadith of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār which shows that the Mahdi is from the descendants of ‘Abbās, Madelung believes that it must have been fabricated by a less well-known reporter, Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Khuzā‘ī. However, he says that the tides later changed, and aḥādīth supporting the ‘Alawids began appearing once again. Among such aḥādīth were the one related by ‘Imrān b. Qaḥṭān, a supporter of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh and his brother Ibrāhīm, the report of ‘Auf al-A‘rabī (d. 146) on the authority of Abū l-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī in Baṣra<sup>8</sup>, and that of Ziyād b. Bayān in Raqqa, which spoke of a Mahdi from the progeny of the Prophet. Similar aḥādīth showing that the Mahdi's father's name would be the same as the name of the Prophet's father, as reported by ‘Āṣim, and the one which shows that he would be through the family line of Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, as reported by Shu‘aib b. Khālīd, were fabricated to advance this revolt.

The aḥādīth in favour of a Mahdi from the progeny of Ḥusain b. ‘Alī were also circulated by a number of reporters, including ‘Abdullāh b. Lahī‘a al-Miṣrī (d. 155) who reported on the authority of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās<sup>9</sup>. He was also responsible for the ḥadīth which speaks of a certain Shu‘aib b. Ṣāliḥ who would lead an army from the East and pave the way for the Mahdi. Similar reports came through Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir (d. 163) in Ḥimṣ and through Abū Bakr b. Maryam (d. 156) in Damascus. Madelung believes that all such narrations which portray the Sufyānī, a rival of the Mahdi, his devastation of Kūfa and his final defeat at the hand of Shu‘aib b. Ṣāliḥ, to whom came the black flags from the East and the yellow flags from the West, were simply an expansion of the ahadith about the Mahdi. Furthermore, there were predictions about the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and a pledge to be taken in allegiance to the Mahdi in Makka, which failed to materialise. In addition to that, a number of Syrian reports speak of the Mahdi as a ruler of Jerusalem where he would rule for a period of between twenty-one and forty years. Madelung therefore concludes that room for another Mahdi was needed,



who would appear at the end of the time, conquer Constantinople and support Jesus after his descent. However, opposition to this idea is seen clearly in the ḥadīth of Moḥammad b. Khālīd al-Jundī, who reports through Ḥasan al-Baṣrī from Anas b. Malik that the Mahdi is none but 'Īsā b. Maryam<sup>10</sup>. This ḥadīth is reported by Ibn Māja but rejected by al-Nasā'ī and Ibn al-Qayyim. Some scholars, in order to harmonise the contradictory aḥādīth, interpret 'Mahdi' in the above mentioned ḥadīth, as the one who spoke in his *mahd* (i.e. cradle): a meaning which fits 'Īsā b. Maryam.

Madelung reiterates that belief in the Mahdi had little significance as neither Bukhārī nor Muslim transmitted aḥādīth on this topic in their collections, although it did gain a popular support among the Muslims because traditionists such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the compilers of the four Sunans did transmit them. Under the sub heading, '*Later development*', Madelung quotes Ṭabarānī, Ḥākim and Baihaqī, who transmitted these aḥādīth and emphasised that the Mahdi would be contemporary of Jesus by showing the latter praying behind the former, as mentioned by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Āburī (d. 363) in *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī*. Not only this, but a number of actions attributed to Jesus were shown to apply to the Mahdi, in addition to his conquest of Constantinople and Rome, as reported by Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī (d. 458). Madelung points also to the writing of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Qurṭubī (d. 671) and Ibn Khaldūn, who spoke about the Mahdi of the West to appear at Massa, where the first pledge would be held, followed by the second pledge at Makka. He would also be the conqueror of Andalusia. Madelung believes that some of these expectations were attached to Ibn Tūmart (d. 522), but that the door was left open for the one who would conquer Andalusia. Madelung concludes that later scholars such as Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Maqdisī (d. 658 AH), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) Ibn Hajar al-Haithamī (d. 973) ignored these developments and tried instead to harmonise the contradictory aḥādīth.

Issues such as whether the Mahdi would be a Ḥasanī or a Ḥusainī remained a bone of contention among the scholars: Ibn al-Qayyim and Ibn Hajar al-Haithamī supported the first view due to the fact that Ḥasan abandoned the caliphate for the sake of the unity of the Muslims, whereas Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī (d. 1014) and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Aydarūsī (d. 1192) supported the rival view. Again, al-Taftāzānī (d. 792) supported the view that the Mahdi would pray behind Jesus, while Ibn Hajar al-Haithamī disagreed. Both al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Hajar disagreed with the view that the Mahdi excels Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The opposite view is supported by Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī and al-Barzanjī (of the eleventh century), because the Mahdi is infallible. Ibn 'Arabī was of the opinion that the Mahdi would descend from the family of Ḥasan be infallible in his *Ijtihād*, and that the Sufis would support him while the jurists would oppose him. Some Sufis



believe that both the Mahdi and the Messiah will follow the Ḥanafī school of thought, as reported by Makhdūm al-Malik al-Hindī but strongly refuted by Mullā ‘Alī al-Qārī.

On the whole, Madelung concludes, the Sunnī sources do not pay much attention to the belief in the Mahdi, so we see, for example, that al-Ghazālī ignores it completely. A total rejection of this belief, as advanced by Ibn Khaldūn, is an exception.

Under the sub-heading ‘*Shī‘ī doctrine*’, Madelung shows how strongly this belief has been established among the Shī‘ites, who believe in the occultation of the Mahdi and his majestic reappearance. They used to attribute all the signs of the Mahdi to every new Imām whenever his predecessor failed to fulfil them, beginning with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, followed by his son Abū Hāshim (d. 98), then ‘Abdullāh b. Mu‘āwiya (d. 130), then Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145), followed by Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (born 256). The term ‘*al-Qā‘im*’ was so popular with them that it almost became a substitute for ‘*al-Mahdī*’; Madelung suggests that this term may have a connection with a similar Aramaic epithet meaning “the living one”: the belief in occultation, much stressed by the Shī‘ites, has become closely associated with belief in the Mahdi.

To *al-Wākifa*, among the Shi‘ites, Mūsā al-Kāzim, the seventh Imām, was the one who went in hiding. The *Imāmiya* exploited such narrations and applied them to the two occultations of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Askarī. As for his second appearance, Shi‘i doctrine does not differ much from that of *Ahl al-Sunna*.. Being infallible, the Mahdi's role as an Imām who will lead ‘Isā b. Maryam in the prayer, does not pose any problems for them. According to a number of narrations accredited to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, the Mahdi will either admit all religions and factions to the Shi‘ite belief, or impose Jizya upon them. The *Karāmita* add that he will abrogate the *Sharī‘a* and introduce a new order.

In their refutation of Sunnī objections, the Shī‘ites defend the long life of the Mahdi by pointing to the cases of a number of persons of long life such as al-Khidr, the Messiah and al-Dajjāl. Even a number of Sunnī scholars such as Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ghanjī (d. 658) and Muḥammad b. Talḥa al-‘Adawī (650 AH), supported the belief of the Shī‘ites in the re-appearance of their twelfth Imām, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-‘Askarī, apparently relying on aḥādīth showing his advent at the end of the time.

Another objection raised from Sunnī quarters was that the twelfth Imām could not have been the Mahdi, since his father's name was not ‘Abdullāh. To this al-Ghanjī replied that the above-mentioned stipulation was fabricated by the Kūfan reporter Zā‘ida in the ḥadīth reported by ‘Āṣim.



Another objection was that one hadith placed the Mahdi in the middle of this Ummah and the Messiah at the end. Al-Ghanjī replied that the Mahdi was in the middle, but his age was so great that he would reach the times of Messiah, the last caller to Islām.

The Shī'ite doctrine was supported among Sunnī scholars by Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Mālikī (d. 855), Sulaimān b. Ibrāhīm al-Qandūzī (d. 1294), 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Arbilī (d. 692), and by Ṣūfī scholars in general as pointed out by Baihaqī (d. 458). Among such scholars were Ṣadr ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Hamawī (7th century) and the Egyptian scholar al-Sha'rānī (d. around 958), who predicted that the Mahdi's appearance would be in 1030 AH, in accordance with the saying of a certain 'Irāqī, Shaikh Ḥasan, who claimed to have met the Mahdi, according to Ibn 'Arabī. The Egyptian scholar, Shaikh al-Sabbān (d. 1206) refuted Ibn 'Arabī's claim while another scholar, Ḥasan al-'Adawī al-Hamzāwī (d. around 1275), defended Ibn 'Arabī, saying that Ṣūfī scholars were the people most fit to understand the aḥādīth of the Prophet. He did not agree, however, with the date set by al-Sha'rānī, but speculated that the Mahdi's birth would be in 1255 AH by adding a thousand years to the birth date of the twelfth Imām, as al-'Adawī held that the Mahdi would be a descendant of the eleventh Imām. In this way, he managed to differ from the general position of the Shī'ites.

The Fāṭimids had no hesitation in declaring the founder of their regime to be the Mahdi, although they reserved some of his attributes for later caliphs in case the Mahdi could not fulfil all of them. They attributed many of these characteristics to al-Qā'im, the seventh Imām, who was expected to appear at the end of time.

The *Zaidiyya* did not give much emphasis to this belief in the Mahdi. One of their factions, the *Jārūdiyya*, believed in the return of Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Muḥammad b. Qāsim Ṣāhib al-Talikan (d. 219) or Yaḥyā b. 'Umar (d. 250 AH). One of their Imāms, Ḥusain b. al-Qāsim al-'Iyānī (d. 404), claimed to be the Mahdi, whose return had been expected by his followers, known as *Husainiyya*, until the eighth century. The insignificance of this belief among the Zaidiyya demonstrated by the fact that Sayyid al-Ḥumaidān (seventh century), one of their writers, did recognize Ḥusain b. al-Qāsim to be the Mahdi but he did not prefer him above any of the other Zaidī Imāms.

### A critical review of Madelung's opinions

If the learned writer admits the existence of the term 'Mahdi' in the poetry of Ḥassān b. Thābit, why does he ignore its utterance by the Prophet himself, whose sayings were, after all, reported to the following



generations with much greater accuracy than the poetry of Ḥassān ? Once the term is known to have been used by the Prophet himself, there is no need to hunt for it in a later period like that of the second civil war, as Madelung does. The fact that the title 'Mahdi' was applied to a number of persons such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz and some Ummayyad caliphs simply shows that the title had acquired much importance; there is no doubt that this prompted various factions to further elaborate on the concept of the Mahdi to suit their own circumstances.

Madelung has been able to collect a host of aḥādīth related to this topic, and furthermore, he has attempted to identify the person who, in his opinion, was responsible for the fabrication of each ḥadīth. By doing so, he has been forced to admit the validity of the *Isnād*. However, according to the criteria of the traditionists, as followed in this study, his procedure for selecting the guilty person in each isnād is erratic, and ranges from sound reasoning to mere speculation. On reading his article, one gets the impression that the reporters of ḥadīth, from the time of the Companions to that of al-Qurṭubī (who spoke of the Mahdi of the west), were obsessed with fabricating aḥādīth in order to support their chosen factions. Consequently, there were 'Alawids who attributed every excellence to members of the Prophet's family, disagreeing only about which member of the family deserved these descriptions. On the other hand, there were the Umayyads (or 'Amawides'), who were quick to choose 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz or one of the other caliphs as the Mahdi.

After Madelung's systematic survey of the events, the reader is led to the conclusion that all the aḥādīth on this topic are contradictory and ambiguous and so should be discarded completely. The logic of such an argument is similar to concluding that no bullets were fired on the demonstrators in the early days of the revolt in Romania in December 1989 because the reports of the death toll varied from several hundred to sixty thousand; the sensible conclusion would be to say that the shootings did happen but the differences in the reports was confined to the number of persons actually killed.

In any event, although Madelung finds a fabricator behind each ḥadīth, he nevertheless accepts that the numerous aḥādīth found in the Musnad of Aḥmad and the four canonical collections "provide a solid basis for the popular belief in Mahdi."<sup>11</sup>

Belief in the Mahdi was well-established among the Muslims since the time of the Prophet. The differences of opinion concern some of his attributes, his proper genealogy, the period of his rule, the time of his exact appearance and the scope of his military expeditions. This has been the subject of the major part of this study, for which over one hundred



and twenty aḥādīth have been selected from various collections, from that of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād to some later traditionists.

I agree with Madelung that there could have been dubious motives on the part of some factions, who fabricated such details as would show their chosen personality to be the Mahdi, but instead of rejecting all the narrations, we should adopt some scholarly criteria by which we can separate the sound, acceptable aḥādīth from the unacceptable ones.

Let us take for example the ḥadīth of ‘Abdullāh b. Mas‘ūd through Zirr b. Ḥubaish, which speaks of the appearance of a man from the family of the Prophet at the end of time, as transmitted by Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād<sup>12</sup>, Aḥmad, Tirmidhī and Abū Dāwūd. Madelung declares it to be a fabrication by Zirr b. Ḥubaish because he was known for his loyalty to ‘Alawids. This is the only reason for which he rejects this ḥadīth. Should we then suppose that everyone who supported the ‘Alawids was guilty of fabricating aḥādīth in their support? There are no indications of favour towards the ‘Alawids in the *tarjama* of Zirr or ‘Āṣim b. Bahdala al-Kūfī<sup>13</sup>, neither are there any disparaging remarks about him. So instead of speculating, it would be better to rely upon the verdict of the traditionists, who have declared this ḥadīth as ḥasan because of its various *asānīd*.

Madelung also declares the ḥadīth, “God will give him success in a single night” to be a fabrication because it was reported by Ibrāhīm --- his father, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya --- his father, ‘Alī. If such a narration is to be doubted because family members transmitted it, then it could also be given credence because members of the same family would take pride in honestly preserving the narration.

We cannot deny that the traditionists were very aware of such a possibility. If a reporter was found to support his faction vehemently or call others to join it, he would be suspected of fabricating narrations in favour of his group. The narration from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya in *Kitāb al-Fitan* of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād is a good example of such a spurious ḥadīth.<sup>14</sup> In this ḥadīth, the ‘Abbāsids are condemned and the advent of a Mahdi after their rule is predicted. I judge this ḥadīth to be ‘unacceptable’ because of the ambiguity surrounding one of its reporters, Abū Yūsuf al-Maqdisī and an extreme inclination towards *Ahl al-Bait* on the part of Fiṭr b. Khalīfa.<sup>15</sup>

Madelung seems to have agreed with the traditionists’ course of criticism in declaring the ḥadīth, “A people from the East will pave the way for the Mahdi”<sup>16</sup> to be spurious because of ‘Abdullāh b. Lahī’a, the Egyptian judge. It has been declared unacceptable because of Ibn Lahī’a, who earned many disparaging remarks from the traditionists, and also because



of his shaikh, known as ‘Amr b. Jābir al-Haḍramī. Ibn Lahī‘a says about him that whenever he saw a cloud he used to remark, “This is ‘Alī who passed in that cloud.”<sup>17</sup>

On the whole, I agree with Madelung in his general verdict that most of the detail found in these aḥādīth seems to be a reflection of the political events found at the end of the Umayyad rule and the beginning of ‘Abbāsīd dynasty. Therefore, any narrations which do not stand up to Ḥadīth Criticism will justifiably be rejected.

Madelung mentions, without commenting, the Mahdi of the West who would appear in a town known as ‘Massa’ in Marrakesh where the people, would declare an oath of allegiance to him, followed by a second oath of allegiance at Makka, as reported by al-Qurṭubī<sup>18</sup> on the authority of Ibn Mas‘ūd. Such a ḥadīth, with no isnād at all, has no value in the eyes of the traditionists.

Madelung quotes Ibn ‘Arabī’s view that the Mahdi would be infallible in his *Ijtihād* and would be opposed by the jurists (*fuqahā*).<sup>19</sup> Again, this type of claim has no validity because Ibn ‘Arabī did not produce any evidence for his claim except to say, “The Prophet witnessed to his infallibility in his dealings, as the rational evidence witnesses for the infallibility of the Prophet himself in his reports from his Lord.”<sup>20</sup> One of the curious things mentioned by Ibn ‘Arabī is his view about the doubt concerning the length of reign of the Mahdi, which is variously reported as lasting from five to nine years. He says that this doubt exists because of the doubt surrounding the number of the Mahdi’s ministers. If they were five, he would live for five years; if they were seven, he would live for seven years, and so on.<sup>21</sup> Again, this claim of Ibn ‘Arabī is unfounded.

Madelung has shown very well how the scholars of Islām tried to harmonise the contradictory ahadith throughout the centuries on issues such as the Mahdi being a descendant of Ḥasan or Ḥusain, and his prayer behind the Messiah or vice versa.

I will not discuss Madelung’s statements on the Shī‘ite belief about the Mahdi, such as his two occultations, his being infallible like the Prophets, and his return at the end of time, because they are not the main subject of this study.

Madelung mentions a number of Sunnī scholars who supported the Shī‘ites with regard to the Mahdi, such as al-Sha‘rānī, who quoted his shaikh, al-Ḥasan al-‘Irāqī’s claim of having met the Mahdi in person. Here I quote what al-Hamzāwī said in this regard, quoting al-Sha‘rānī:



“My master, al-Ḥasan al-‘Irāqī, told me that he met the Mahdi in the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. The Mahdi advised him how to say *Dhikr* and commanded him to fast one day and break the other, to pray five hundred *rak‘ahs* each day for the rest of his life and to keep on travelling in the land. So he kept on travelling in Syria for fifty-seven years until he came to visit the dam made by Alexander, Dhu l-Qarnain, and he took hold of its lock by his hand. He also said that the Mahdi informed him that his age at that time was one hundred and thirty-seven years.”<sup>22</sup>

Madelung reports how the Egyptian scholar, al-Shaikh al-Sabbān refuted the claims of Ibn ‘Arabī but he was, in turn, criticised by the said al-Hamzāwī. This lengthy discussion among them, as reported by Madelung, shows how the Sunnī scholars were influenced by the Shī‘ite doctrine about the Mahdi. In the end, I tend to agree with Madelung that most of the elaborate paraphernalia associated with the concept of the Mahdi seems to be a reflection of the political situations during the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd periods. To support this, we conclude by quoting a narration from the collection of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād<sup>23</sup>, which is also given by Ḥākim<sup>24</sup> with the following isnād:

Nu‘aim === Yahyā b. Sa‘id === al-Walīd b. ‘Ayyāsh, the brother of Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyash --- Ibrāhīm --- ‘Alqama --- Ibn Mas‘ūd that the Messenger of Allāh said, “I warn you of seven troubles after me: a trouble which comes from Madīna, a trouble at Makka, a trouble which appears at Yemen, a trouble which comes from al-Shām, a trouble which comes from the East, a trouble which comes from the West, and a trouble at the heart of al-Shām, and that is al-Sufyānī.”

Ibn Mas‘ūd said, “Al-Walīd b. ‘Ayyāsh said, ‘The trouble at Madīna was due to Ṭalḥa and Ibn Zubair; the trouble at Makka was that of ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair; the trouble of al-Shām was that of the Umayyads; and the trouble of the East was from these people’.”

Ḥākim said, “This is a *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth which was not transmitted by either Bukhārī or Muslim.”

Ḍhahabī said, “This is one of the blunders of Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād.”

This is how Ḍhahabī rejected this ḥadīth, holding Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād responsible for mentioning it in his collection. There is doubt that the political events dictated such a saying.



---

## **REFERENCES FOR SECTION B**

- <sup>1</sup> W. Madelung: *E.I.*
- <sup>2</sup> W. Madelung: *J.N.E.S.*
- <sup>3</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 101.
- <sup>4</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 69; Part I, Ch. 1 and Part II, Ch. 2: Ḥadīth 13.
- <sup>5</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 79.
- <sup>6</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 33.
- <sup>7</sup> cf. the discussion under Ḥadīth 18, Ch. 3, Part II.
- <sup>8</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 1 and Part II, Ch. 2: Ḥadīth 2.
- <sup>9</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 93.
- <sup>10</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 3 and Part II, Ch. 4: Ḥadīth 4.
- <sup>11</sup> W. Madelung: *E.I.*, p. 1234.
- <sup>12</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch.3: Ḥadīth 87.
- <sup>13</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 2 and Part II, Ch. 3: Ḥadīth 10.
- <sup>15</sup> Part II, Ch.3: Ḥadīth 10.
- <sup>16</sup> cf. Part I, Ch. 3 and Part II, Ch.4: Ḥadīth 3.
- <sup>17</sup> cf. Part II, Ch.3: Ḥadīth 64.
- <sup>18</sup> . Qurṭubī: *Tadhkira*, p.617.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibn ‘Arabī: *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, p. 115.
- <sup>20</sup> *ibid*, p. 117.
- <sup>21</sup> *ibid*, p. 108.
- <sup>22</sup> Ḥasan Al-‘Adawī Al-Hamzāwī (d. 1303 AH): *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, pp. 115-6.
- <sup>23</sup> Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād, *K.F.*, folio 18.
- <sup>24</sup> Ḥākim: *Al-Mustadrak*, 4:468.

## SECTION C

### Wilfred Madelung on the Ḥadīth of Umm Salama

Quoted below is Madelung's version of the ḥadīth of Umm Salama in his article entitled “‘Abd Allāh b. Al-Zubayr and the Mahdī”:

In the chapter on the Mahdi of his *Kitāb al-Sunan*, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī quotes the following prediction of the Prophet on the authority of his wife Umm Salama:

There will arise a difference after the death of a caliph, and a man of the people of Medina will go forth fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and will make him rise in revolt against his will. They will pledge allegiance to him between the Rukn and Maqām. An expedition will be sent against him from Syria but will be swallowed up (*yukhsafu bihim*) in the desert between Mecca and Medina. When the people see this, the righteous men (*abdāl*) of Syria and the troops (*‘aṣā’ib*) of the people of Iraq will come to him and pledge allegiance to him. Thereafter a man of the Quraysh will arise whose maternal uncles are of Kalb. He will send an expedition against them, but they will defeat them. This will be the expedition of Kalb, and the disappointment will be for those who do not witness the spoils of Kalb. He will then divide the wealth and act among them according to the Sunna of their Prophet. Islām will settle down firmly on the ground (*yulqī bi-jirānihi ilā l-arḍ*). He will stay seven years and then die, and the Muslims will pray over him.<sup>1</sup>

The verdict on this ḥadīth has already been given<sup>2</sup>: that the isnād of ‘Abd al-Razzāq is *mursal*, whereas the isnad of Abū Dāwūd contains an unknown authority whose name appears in another isnad, and that this ḥadīth is not apparently related to the subject of the Mahdi. Muslim<sup>3</sup> gives a similar text which has five different asānīd and is authentically-reported, but is also not concerned with the subject of the Mahdi.

However, Madelung discusses this ḥadīth<sup>4</sup> at great length, treating it as some form of war propaganda in favour of ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair by ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith b. Naufal, the person unnamed in the isnād of Abū Dāwūd. The ḥadīth contains a prediction about the sinking of an expedition before it reaches the House of Allāh. Madelung holds that when this prediction did not come true for the expedition which came to assault ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair, the reporter of this narration, Qatāda, left its origin obscure by omitting the name of the person from whom his shaikh, Abū l-Khalīl, took it. In his opinion, the motive was to leave the prediction open to fit any future occasion such as the coming of the



Mahdi. According to the methodology of the traditionists, Qatāda cannot be accused of such an act. He was certainly known to practise *tadlīs* but the two missing authorities in the isnād of ‘Abd al-Razzāq are identified in the two isnāds of Abū Dāwūd: one contains Qatāda's immediate authority, Abū l-Khalīl, while the other gives the immediate authority from whom Abū l-Khalīl has narrated, namely ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith. Madelung finds ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith to be the perfect culprit responsible for the fabrication of this ḥadīth. To prove this accusation, he gives a lengthy life-sketch of ‘Abdullāh, nicknamed Babba, his family connection with the Umayyads, his sympathy with the cause of ‘Alī as shown by his abstention from joining either group in the conflict between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya, and his gradual dislike for the Umayyads when Mu‘āwiya ignored him even after his active role in bringing about agreement between Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya concerning the Caliphate. But was ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith alone in narrating this ḥadīth ?

Madelung seems to miss this point in his research article altogether.

Ibn Ḥibbān<sup>5</sup> transmits this ḥadīth with his isnād going back to Qatāda --- Ṣāliḥ Abū l-Khalīl --- Mujāhid --- Umm Salama. A similar text reported on the authority of ‘Ā'isha and Umm Salama has been given by Abū Ya‘lā<sup>6</sup> and Bazzār<sup>7</sup> as follows:

Anas reported, “The Messenger of Allāh was sleeping in the house of Umm Salama, when he woke up saying, *‘Innā lillāh, wa innā ilaihi rāji‘ūn.’*”<sup>8</sup>

I (Umm Salama) said, ‘Why do you say so ?’

He said, ‘Because of a contingent which will come from ‘Irāq in pursuit of a man in Madīna who would be protected by Allāh. When they reach the desert by Dhū l-Hulaifa, they will be swallowed up. Those above would not reach the ones underneath, and those underneath would not reach the ones above them until the Day of Resurrection. They will be of different origins, and among them will be some who were forced (to join).’”

... Haithamī remarks, “In the isnād of Abū Ya‘lā is ‘Alī b. Zaid, who is good in Ḥadīth, with only a slight weakness. In the isnād of Bazzār is Hishām b. al-Ḥakam whom I did not know but Ibn Abī Ḥātim mentioned him without either disparaging or authenticating him. All the other reporters are reliable. As for the ḥadīth of ‘Ā'isha, all its reporters are trustworthy.”<sup>9</sup>

Hence, ‘Abdullāh b. al-Hārith is cleared of the accusations made against him by Madelung. At the most, Abū Dāwūd could be blamed for placing this ḥadīth under the chapter heading, ‘Mahdi’, since it could also apply to a person other than the Mahdi.



Madelung gives similar treatment to the four asānīd of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, narrated on the authorities of Umm Salama, and Ḥafṣa and ‘Ā’isha, through ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān and ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair respectively. He views all these aḥādīth as war propaganda in favour of Ibn al-Zubair for the following reasons:<sup>10</sup>

1) The description of a man fleeing to Makka and taking shelter there, as given in these ahadith, clearly fits Ibn al-Zubair.

2) The reporter from Umm Salama, namely ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān, had been a staunch supporter of Ibn al-Zubair, and fought gallantly by the latter’s side until he was killed, during the siege of Makka . by al-Ḥajjāj in 73 AH. Also, he asked Umm Salama about this ḥadīth while the armies of Yazīd were advancing towards Makka, as was mentioned by one of the reporters.

3) In the isnād of ‘Ā’isha, ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair himself is the one who narrates from ‘Ā’isha directly.

However, due to a number of indications which dissociate these aḥādīth from the events during the times of Ibn al-Zubair, Madelung offers an explanation for each of them as follows:

4) ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān says, “By Allāh, this is not the (predicted) contingent” in reply to Yūsuf b. Malik’s remark that the people of Shām were advancing towards Makka. Madelung disregards this, arguing that it is similar to Qatāda’s alleged motive in relating this ḥadīth to a future event on seeing that the predicted sinking of the contingent did not occur.

5) To attribute this ḥadīth to ‘Ā’isha and Ḥafṣa is a later addition by some reporters, since both of them passed away long before the events which took place during the reign of Ibn al-Zubair.

6) That the contingent sent by Yazīd towards Makka did not sink, as predicted in these aḥādīth, does not matter because this part of the ḥadīth could have been added by the fabricator to boost the morale of Ibn al-Zubair’s people. Alternatively, “sinking into the earth” could metaphorically refer to the dispersing of the armies of Yazīd in disarray following the news of the death of their leader.

My observations on these arguments are as follows:



1) There is no doubt that much resemblance exists between the description in this ḥadīth and the events surrounding the rule of Ibn al-Zubair, but due to the points of difference such as the sinking of the expedition which did not happen during his rule, it would be unwise to declare this ḥadīth a reflection of the events during Ibn al-Zubair's rule.

2) Although the ḥadīth of the sinking of the expedition was widely known among the people, it seems logical that ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān and al-Ḥārith b. Rabī‘a would come to Umm Salama, the only source left among the Companions who could relate it, and ask her about it at a time when the people were in a state of war and ready to listen to anything that could strengthen their faith and encourage them to resist attack.

3) It is no wonder that ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubair relates this ḥadīth from ‘Ā’isha, for he was her nephew, the son of her sister Asmā. ‘Ā’isha used to be called Umm ‘Abdullāh, a by-name given to her after his name.<sup>11</sup> So naturally, Ibn al-Zubair was the most likely person to ask ‘Ā’isha such questions which others such as ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān were also posing.

4) ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān’s denial that Yazīd’s armies were the ones predicted by the Prophet could have been due to the simple reason that the advancing armies of Yazīd did not sink into the earth after passing Madīna: once ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān knew this fact, he made the above statement. Therefore, Madelung is not justified in declaring this statement to be a later addition which intended to leave the prophecy open for an appropriate situation in the future.

5) The death of Ḥafṣa and ‘Ā’isha before the times of Ibn al-Zubair confirms that this ḥadīth was known at an earlier time than that of Ibn al-Zubair. Ḥafṣa died in 41, 47 or 50 AH at the latest<sup>12</sup>, whereas ‘Ā’isha died in 56, 57 or 58 AH.<sup>13</sup> This is how ‘Abdullāh b. Ṣafwān heard this ḥadīth from Ḥafṣa as well; Ibn Ḥibbān includes him among the Companions whereas other traditionists count him among the reliable Successors.<sup>14</sup>

After narrating this ḥadīth, Muslim added that the reporter said, “I bear witness that you did not lie about Ḥafṣa and I bear witness that Ḥafṣa did not lie about the Prophet.”<sup>15</sup>

6) Madelung totally rejects the concept of the “sinking of the contingent” by either regarding it as a later fabrication or by metaphorically applying



it to the dispersal of Yazīd's armies. He has no justifiable evidence for this, and I find this haphazard rejection of a concept crucial to many aḥādīth totally unacceptable.

History bears testimony to the fact that a number of men, such as Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, took shelter in Makka when pursued by their enemies. The Prophet had prophesied this event, but none of the Muslim historians or traditionists applied it to Ibn al-Zubair; that may be the reason why, rightly or wrongly, Abū Dāwūd placed it under the chapter of the Mahdi.

The Prophet also made a similar prophecy about the existence of an impostor and a devastator in the tribe of Thaqīf. Asmā, the mother of Ibn al-Zubair, understood it correctly when she addressed Ḥajjāj after the killing of Ibn al-Zubair and said, "The Messenger of Allāh told us about an impostor and a devastator in Thaqīf. As for the impostor, we have seen him (i.e. al-Mukhtār b. 'Ubaid al-Thaqafī), and as for the destructor, I can only think that you are the one who is meant."<sup>16</sup> Had the ḥadīth about the sinking of an army been related to Yazīd, Asmā would have said so to her son, knowing that it would boost his morale.

We can say in conclusion that it is not sufficient to discuss these aḥādīth solely from a historical perspective, as Madelung has done.

Madelung is himself compelled to accept the method of the traditionists for scrutinising a ḥadīth, when he labels another ḥadīth of 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith as fabricated because of a very weak reporter in its isnād. The ḥadīth shows the Prophet saying to 'Alī that he would be his successor and deputy. The suspected reporter named by Madelung is 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim Abū Maryam al-Anṣārī, as he was found to be a staunch *Rāfiḍī* who used to fabricate narrations in favour of 'Alī. It is strange that this time, Madelung does not go by his previous analysis and label 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith, one of the reporters of this ḥadīth, as the one who fabricated it.

In accordance with the method of the traditionists, 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith could never be suspected of fabricating any ḥadīth. Ibn al-Athīr regards him as a Companion as he witnessed the Prophet.<sup>17</sup> Ibn Sa'd includess him among the reliable Successors.<sup>18</sup> All later traditionists have a high opinion of him.<sup>19</sup> However, the traditionists have attacked 'Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim, who reported from 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith: Ibn al-Madīnī said, "He used to fabricate ḥadīth"<sup>20</sup>; Aḥmad said, "He is not trustworthy. He is abandoned in the matters of ḥadīth."<sup>21</sup> With such evidence, we can accuse al-Qāsim of fabrication and absolve Ibn al-Ḥārith.



Madelung's excessive attention to the life history of 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith is thus not entirely relevant. He concludes his article by relating that 'Alī b. Zaid b. Jud'ān heard him, while he was the governor of Baṣra, relating on the pulpit the story of the earth swallowing Korah and his companions. Madelung then remarks, "The idea of a *Khasf* seems to have preoccupied his imagination at the time."<sup>22</sup>

It does not seem justified to conclude that because al-Ḥārith once narrated the story of Korah, which is alluded to in the Qur'ān<sup>23</sup>, he must have been guilty of fabricating aḥādīth about an army being swallowed by the earth; he was a *Qāḍī* and a scholar, and would have known and narrated many stories based on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. Narrating a story about the earth swallowing some people is a far cry from being obsessed with such a concept!

Let us conclude this chapter with Madelung's own testimony about 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith, with which he concludes his article:

"The experts of Ḥadīth criticism, including Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and 'Alī b. al-Madinī all judged him to be a trustworthy transmitter (*thiqa*). Ibn Khirāsh counted him among the venerable Muslims (*ajillat al-Muslimīn*). Although not considered a companion of the Prophet, he still belonged to that generation of early Muslims which stood virtually above criticism in the eyes of the later traditionists."<sup>24</sup>

## REFERENCES FOR SECTION C

- 1 W. Madelung: 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdi, *J.N.E.S.*, xi p. 291
- 2 See Chapter 2, Ḥadīth No. 1.
- 3 MS, 18:5-6.
- 4 Wilfred Madelung: *J.N.E.S.*, 40 no. 4 (1981), pp. 291 - 305.
- 5 .Haithamī, Nūr al-Dīn Abū Bakr: *Mawārid al-Zam'ān ilā Zawā'id Ibn Ḥibbān*, Ḥadīth No. 1881.
- 6 .Haithamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id ilā Zawā'id wa Manba' al-Fawā'id*, 7:316.
- 7 .Haithamī: *Kashf al-Astār 'an Zawā'id al-Bazzār*, 4:115, Ḥadīth No. 3328.
- 8 Qur'ān, 2:156, meaning "We belong to Allāh and to Him we return." This verse is commonly said at the time of distress, bad news or a calamity.
- 9 Al-Haithamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id*, 7:316.
- 10 the numbering is mine.
- 11 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: *Al-Istī'āb*, 4:358; Muṣṭafā Muḥammad al-Raf'ī: *Urwān al-Nijābah*, p. 201.
- 12 ibid, p. 203.
- 13 ibid, p. 202.
- 14 DHN, 5:265.
- 15 MS, op. cit.
- 16 Ibn Kathīr: *Al-Bidāya wa al-Niyāha*, 6:236.
- 17 Ibn al-Athīr: *Usud al-Ghaba*, 3:207.
- 18 Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, 5:24.
- 19 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: *Al-Istī'āb*, 2:272 - HTH, 5:180.
- 20 HL, 4:42.
- 21 AHK, 6:53; ND, p. 167.
- 22 Madelung, p. 305.
- 23 sura al-Qaṣaṣ, 28:81.
- 24 ibid.

# CONCLUSION



## A. Numerical summary of the aḥādīth analysed

Now that this study of aḥādīth and āthār related to the concept of the Mahdi has been exhausted, we can gain a reasonable idea of the number of authentic narrations related to this subject.

In the previous chapters, 146 aḥādīth and āthār have been quoted, from which the following data emerge:

### Authentic (ṣaḥīḥ or ḥasan) aḥādīth about the Mahdi

<i>marfū'</i> :	16
<i>mauqūf</i> :	3
<i>maqṭū'</i> :	3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>22</b>

### Inauthentic aḥādīth about the Mahdi

<i>da'īf</i> :	109
<i>mauḍū'</i> :	10
<b>Total:</b>	<b>119</b>

Aḥādīth not related to the subject: 5

**TOTAL: 146**

## B. Description of the Mahdi from the authentic aḥādīth

The picture of the Mahdi which emerges from the authentic aḥādīth is as follows:

1. He will certainly appear. Even if only one day or night were left of this world, Allāh would prolong it to enable him to appear.<sup>1</sup>
2. His name will be Muḥammad son of ‘Abdullāh, identical to that of the Prophet (SAS).<sup>2</sup>
3. He will belong to the household of the Prophet (SAS).<sup>3</sup>
4. He will descend from Ḥasan, son of Fāṭima.<sup>4</sup>
5. He will be prepared by Allāh in a single night.<sup>5</sup>
6. His facial characteristics will be that his forehead will be wide, and his nose aquiline.<sup>6</sup>
7. There will be an abundance of wealth during his time. He will give it to people without counting it.<sup>7</sup>
8. He will establish equity and justice on earth.<sup>8</sup>
9. The sky will rain heavily and the earth will produce in abundance during his time.<sup>9</sup>
10. ‘Īsā b. Maryam will pray behind him.<sup>10</sup>
11. He will remain on earth for either seven or nine years after his appearance as the Mahdi.<sup>11</sup>
12. He will rule for seven, eight or nine years.<sup>12</sup>
14. At the time of his appearance, he will be fifty-one years of age, according to Ka‘b al-Aḥbār.<sup>13</sup>

### C. Discussion of the inauthentic aḥādīth

It has already been shown that the majority of aḥādīth related to the topic of the Mahdi are *ḍa‘īf*, especially those transmitted by Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād. In this section, we shall discuss some of these in brief.

Consider, for example, Umm Salama's narration which speaks of a man fleeing from Madīna to Makka, where a pledge is given to him at the Station of Abraham.<sup>14</sup> This narration does not specifically mention the Mahdi, but it has been included in this study because the traditionists



have included it in their chapters on the Mahdi. ‘Abd al-Razzāq has mentioned at least four more aḥādīth of this nature.<sup>15</sup> Similar is the case with the *ṣaḥīḥ* ḥadīth of Jābir b. Samura, included by Nu‘aim and later traditionists such as Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and Tirmidhī, which speaks of twelve caliphs, all from the tribe of Quraish, who will rule the Muslim Ummah.<sup>16</sup> Again, this ḥadīth does not say whether the Mahdi will be one of them.

The aḥādīth which describe the events surrounding the appearance of the Mahdi often reflect the events which took place during the reign of the Umayyads and the early ‘Abbāsids. The most obvious of these was the killing of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who fled from Madīna to Makka, but was killed by the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr.<sup>17</sup>

Some ahadith give signs related to the appearance of the Mahdi, such as a solar eclipse or a cry from heaven. These reveal how the opponents of the ruling regimes were expecting divine intervention to support their cause. A date is also given for the appearance of the Mahdi in some narrations, but this date of 204 AH proved to be of no significance whatsoever. Furthermore, they contradict *ṣaḥīḥ* aḥādīth which speak of the Mahdi coming near the end of time. Other contradictions appear within the *da‘īf* aḥādīth concerning the Mahdi's lineage: whereas authentic aḥādīth show that he will be a descendant of Ḥasan, the inauthentic narrations vary by showing him to be either from among the posterity of Ḥusain b. ‘Alī or ‘Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet (SAS), and even from among the descendants of ‘Abd Shams, from whom the Umayyads descended.

Further contradictions appear concerning the Mahdi's age. It is reported that he will appear at the age of forty, and that he will live for a further seven, nine, fourteen or even thirty years. His areas of conquest will reach Jerusalem, Syria, Egypt, Constantinople and even India. Some narrations suggest that there will be two Mahdis, the second of whom will conquer Constantinople while the first Mahdi will be known for his discovery of the Ark of Tranquillity from Tiberias and the copies of the Taurāt from Antioch. One ḥadīth suggests that a ruler from his family will be so despotic that the people will forget the tyrannical rules of Banū ‘Abbās. As this narration as well as others similar to it only mention the rules of Banū Umayya and Banū ‘Abbās, their origin of fabrication seems to be during these two eras.

A number of *da‘īf* aḥādīth concern a man called the Sufyānī. The influence of the descendants of *Ahl al-Bait*, who had claimed the right to rule but had been dealt with severely by both the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsids, can easily be traced in such narrations, and indicates their hope for the fall of the ‘Abbāsids at the hands of the Sufyānī, who



would later be defeated by the Mahdi. These narrations suggest that the appearance of the Sufyānī and the Mahdi were to be during the early ‘Abbāsīd period. One narration claims that the Sufyānī would be a descendant of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, and appear in Damascus.<sup>18</sup> He would appear after the death of the seventh ‘Abbāsīd Caliph<sup>19</sup>, who would have died in Riqqa after staying there for two years, after a reign of tyranny and terror.<sup>20</sup> The Sufyānī would devastate Kufa and massacre the people of Madīna, until his contingent were swallowed by the earth near Makka, where the Mahdi was to appear.<sup>21</sup> The Mahdi would appear seventy-two months after the appearance of the Sufyānī.<sup>22</sup> The Sufyānī would be captured in Jerusalem and put to the sword in Damascus.<sup>23</sup>

It is interesting to see al-Ṭabarī’s description of historical events in the year 195 AH:

“In this year, in the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja, Al-Sufyānī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (b. Abī Sufyān) rebelled in Syria and called for the caliphate to be his. He besieged the governor, Sulaimān b. Abī Ja‘far, of the caliph (Muḥammad al-Amīn, d. 198). Instead of confronting him, Sulaimān fled. Caliph Al-Amīn sent Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. ‘Isā b. Mahān to combat him, but he preferred to stay at Riqqa rather than to face him.”<sup>24</sup>

... Dhahabī gives further details:

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said to Haitham b. Khārīja, “How was the appearance of al-Sufyānī in Damascus during the days of the son of Zubaida (i.e. Muḥammad Al-Amīn) after Sulaimān b. Abī Ja‘far ?” In reply, he described him as “a pious person who evaded evil. He was subjected to injustice. The people asked him to rebel many times, but he refrained. So a man known as Khaṭṭāb b. Wajh al-Fuls dug a tunnel. The people entered it at night and shouted to him, ‘Come out, this is the time for you to appear.’ He said, ‘This is none but Satan.’ They did the same thing on the following night, so he was convinced and announced his rebellion.”

Aḥmad remarked, “They ruined him.”

It is also said that Sulaimān b. Abī Ja‘far was appointed governor of Damascus after a lot of troubles based on prejudices among the ‘Arabs. The Umayyads used to report many things about Abū l-‘Umaiṭir (i.e. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh al-Sufyānī), believing that a number of signs were found in his



person. The Kalb were his supporters. They inclined towards him he showed his liking for them.<sup>25</sup>

Ibn al-Athīr mentions a prominent leader of Kalb known as Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Baihas, who did not support the cause of al-Sufyānī, but confronted him with his people.<sup>26</sup>

Dhahabī continues,

Al-Sufyānī, with the support of Kalb, then besieged Sulaimān, who invited Ibn Baihas to his aid. Ibn Baihas was able to relieve him from the siege.

When ‘Alī (i.e. al-Sufyānī) rebelled with his Yemeni supporters, they chased the people of Qais, burnt their houses and massacred Banū Sulaim. He was followed by the people of Ghuta (a locality in Damascus), Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab and the coastal area. The people of Qais fled. The guards were shouting at the fort walls, “O ‘Alī, O Mukhtār, the one who is chosen by Al-Jabbār (i.e. Allāh) against the evil Banū ‘Abbās.”

After a number of incidents, he fled and absolved himself from rule, going into hiding and remaining there until his death.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, the episode of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh al-Sufyānī, which agrees with a number of statements quoted from the collection of Nu‘aim, illustrates how hopes were built around al-Sufyānī of his bringing the termination of the tyrannical ‘Abbāsid rule and the appearance of the Mahdi. However, these hopes faded away, as did similar ones at the end of the Ummayyad rule.

The mention of black flags coming from the East, particularly from Khurāsān, can easily be interpreted as referring to the beginnings of the ‘Abbāsid movement, which had roots in Khurāsān and was led by a man called Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī.<sup>28</sup>

One cannot ignore the role of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, who was a Successor with a Jewish background. Fourteen narrations have been attributed to him, in which he traces the origins of the name "Mahdi" to the belief that he will guide to a hidden matter and will bring the original *Taurāt* (Torah) and *Injīl* (Gospel) from Antioch, on which seventy thousand Jews will embrace Islām. Ka‘b also traces the genealogy of the Mahdi in various narrations back to ‘Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, to Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, and to another personality whose ancestors

were Yemenites. How far Ka'b is himself responsible for these various narrations is yet to be established.

There can be little doubt that such narrations were attributed to famous personalities such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and 'Abbās in order to provide a sound basis for them. The historical events which took place during the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods seem to provide the background for such narrations. This does not mean to say, however, that the entire concept of the Mahdi is fictitious, as suggested by D.S. Margoliouth and Wilfred Madelung. There are enough authentic aḥādīth which show that the concept of the Mahdi was familiar to the Companions of the Prophet. However, as seen in the description above, this concept was of a general nature, but many specific characteristics were later added by various reporters, each according to his time. This was why the Mahdi of the East was depicted in such different terms from the Mahdi of the West, and also accounts for the different portrayals of the Mahdi among the Sunnīs and the Shī'ites.

We have thus seen how the authentic aḥādīth are characterised by relatively general predictions, while the others are characterised by detailed prophecies giving specific names, places, incidents and even dates, and by mutual inconsistencies, leading to the suspicion of their being fabricated according to the religio-political circumstances. One of the findings of this study, that the Mahdi is due near the end of time as a contemporary of 'Īsā b. Maryam, leaves no room for speculations that the Mahdi could have appeared during the 'Abbāsid period; the Mahdi is yet to come.



## FOOTNOTES & REFERENCES

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Later Traditionists (Part I, Ch. 3 & Part II, Ch. 4): Ḥadīth 1
  - <sup>2</sup> Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād (Part I, Ch. 2 & Part II, Ch. 3): Ḥadīth 87
  - <sup>3</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq (Part I, Ch. 1 & Part II, Ch. 2): Ḥadīth 2, 5; Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 92; Later traditionists: Ḥadīth 1.
  - <sup>4</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 99.
  - <sup>5</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 79.
  - <sup>6</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth 5; Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 81.
  - <sup>7</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 74, 77.
  - <sup>8</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth 2, 8; Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 74, 75.
  - <sup>9</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth 2.
  - <sup>10</sup> Later traditionists: Ḥadīth 8.
  - <sup>11</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 77.
  - <sup>12</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth 2, 5; Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 75, 104.
  - <sup>13</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 82.
  - <sup>14</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth 1.
  - <sup>15</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq: Ḥadīth nos. 6, 9, 10, 11.
  - <sup>16</sup> Nu‘aim b. Ḥammād: Ḥadīth 121.
  - <sup>17</sup> e.g. Later Traditionists: Ḥadīth 11; cf. Introduction, Section D, claimant no. 2.
  - <sup>18</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 21.
  - <sup>19</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 8.
  - <sup>20</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 28.
  - <sup>21</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 31.
  - <sup>22</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 32.
  - <sup>23</sup> Nu‘aim: Ḥadīth 65.
  - <sup>24</sup> Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh*, 9:243 (Urdu ed.)
  - <sup>25</sup> DHN, 9:284
  - <sup>26</sup> Ibn al-Athīr: *Al-Kāmil*, 6:249
  - <sup>27</sup> DHN, 9:285
  - <sup>28</sup> Ṭabarī, 8:34.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Al-‘Abbād, ‘Abd al-Muḥsin b. Ḥamd: *Al-Radd ‘alā man kadhdhaba bi al-aḥādīth al-wārida fī al-mahdī & ‘Aqīda Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Athār fī al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, published in one volume, Madīna, 1402.
- ‘Abbās, Syed M. Kāẓim al-Madrāsī: *Al-Haḍarah fī ‘Ahd al-Imām al-Mahdī*, Beirut, 1972.
- Al-‘Abdah, Muḥammad: *Ḥarakat al-Nafs al-Zakiyya*, Dar al-Arqam, 2nd ed. Kuwait, 1406.
- ‘Abd al-‘Alīm ‘Abd al-‘Azīm: *Al-Aḥādīth al-Wārida fī l-Mahdī fī Mizān al-Jarḥ wa l-Ta’dīl*, King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz University, Jeddah, 1978.
- Abū Dāwūd: *Sunan*, 4 vols. ed. by M.M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2nd emp. Cairo, 1369/1950.
- Abū Nu‘aim, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Iṣbahānī: a) *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā’*, 10 vols., Khanji, Cairo, 1932.
- Abū l-Qāsim Rafīq: *A’imma Talbīs or Gharatgaran Iman* (Urdu), Lahore, N.D.
- Al-Albānī, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn: a) *Al-Aḥādīth fī l-Mahdī*, Majallah al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, issues 27 & 28, Dhū l-Qa‘da, 1370.
- b) *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghūr*, 2 vols., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1406/1986.
- c) *Da‘īf al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghūr*, 3 vols., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1399/1979.
- d) *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥa*, 4 vols., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1378.
- e) *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-Da‘īfa*, 4 vols., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 4th ed. Beirut, 1398.
- f) *Notes on Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, 3 vols., al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1383.
- g) *Takhrij Aḥādīth Faḍā’il al-Shām wa Dimashq*, al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 4th ed. Beirut, 1403.
- Al-Maḥmūd, ‘Abdullāh b. Zaid: *Lā Mahdī Yuntaẓar ba’d al-Rasūl Khair al-Bashar*, Riyāsat al-Maḥākim al-Shar‘iyya wa l-Shu‘ūn al-Dīniyya, Qatar, N.D.
- Al-Ālūsī, Khair al-Dīn Nu‘mān b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Abdullāh: *Ghāliyat al-Mawā’iz wa Miṣbāḥ al-Mutta’iz wa Qabās al-Wā’iz*, al-Muthanna, Baghdad, 1301.
- Amīn, Aḥmad: *Duḥā al-Islām*, Cairo, 1950.
- Arthur, Sir George Compton Archibald: *The Life of Lord Kitchener*, 3 vols., Macmillan, London, 1920.
- Al-‘Askarī, Najm al-Dīn Ja‘far b. Muḥammad: *Al-Mahdī al-Mau‘ūd al-Muntaẓar ‘inda ‘Ulamā Ahl al-Sunnah wa l-Imāmiyya*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1397/1977.
- Atlas of Islamic History*, compiled by Harry W. Hazard. Arabic transl. by Ibrāhīm Zakī Khurshīd, Cairo, N.D.



Al-‘Azīm Ābādī, Abū l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaq: *‘Aun al-Ma‘būd Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, Dar al-Fikr, 3rd ed. Beirut, 1979.

Al-Badāyūnī, ‘Abd al-Qādir: *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, N.D.

*Badr* journal, 5th March 1908, Qadian, India.

Al-Baghawī, al-Ḥusain b. Mas‘ūd b. Muḥammad al-Farra: *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunnah*, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1983.

Al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ṭāhir: *Kitāb al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, Cairo, 1965.

Al-Baihaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain: *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, Hyderabad, India, 1344.

Al-Bāladhūrī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā: a) *Anṣāb al-Ashraf*, 1st vol. ed. by Hamidullah, Cairo, 1959.

b) *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. by al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1956.

Balkhī, Syed Ḥusain: *The Mahdi Mau‘ud*, Hyderabad, 1989.

Al-Barzanjī, Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Ḥusainī: *Al-Ishā‘a li Ashrāt al-Sā‘a*, Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, Beirut, N.D.

Bihārī, Yaḥyā: *Kitāb Farmān* (see M. R. Dīlāwārī: *A‘imma Talbīs*)

Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl: a) *Al-Du‘afā*, Allahabad, 1325.

b) *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4 vols., ed. by Juynboll and others, Leyde, Paris, 1862-1908.

c) *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 4 vols., Hyderabad, 1361.

d) *Al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghūr & Al-Du‘afā al-Ṣaghūr*, Idara Tarjuman al-Sunnah, 4th ed. Lahore, 1402/1982.

e) *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*, published with explanatory notes entitled *Fadl Allāh al-Ṣamad fī Tauḍīḥ al-Adab al-Mufrad* by Fadl Allāh al-Jailānī, Maṭba‘a Salafiyya, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1388.

Al-Dāraquṭnī, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Umar: a) *Kitāb al-Du‘afā wa l-Matrūkān*, Maktaba al-Ma‘ārif, Riyadh, 1404/1984.

b) *Al-Sunan*, published by ‘Abdullah Hashim Yamani, Madina, 1386/1966.

Al-Dārimī, ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān: *Sunan al-Dārimī*, 2 vols. ed. by M. A. Dahman, Damascus, 1349.

Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad: a) *Talkhīṣ al-Mustadrak*, published alongside *al-Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim.

b) *Mīzān al-I‘tidāl*, 4 vols. ed. by al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1382/1963.

c) *Al-Mutashābih*, ed. by al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1962.

d) *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā*, 1-3 vols. ed. al-Munajjid and others, Cairo, 1956.

e) *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, 4 vols., Hyderabad, N.D.

f) *Tārīkh al-Islām*, Vol. I-VI, Cairo, 1367/1948.

g) *Al-Mughnī fī al-Du‘afā*, Maṭba‘a al-Balāgha, Halab, 1391.

h) *Al-Kāshif fī ma‘rifat man laḥū riwāyatun fī al-Kutub al-Sitta*, Dar al-Kutub al-Hadītha, 1392/1972.

j) *Al-Muqīza*, Maktab al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Islāmiyya, Halab, 1405.

Al-Dihlawī, Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz: *Tuḥfa Ithnā ‘Ashariyya*, abridged by Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, Riyadh, 1404.

Al-Dīnawarī, Aḥmad b. Dāwūd: *Al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl*, Al-Maktaba al-Muthanna, Baghdad, 1959.

Encyclopædia Britannica, The New: *Macropædia*, Chicago, 1979.

*Encyclopædia of Islam*, 4 vols., English ed. Luzac, 1954.

*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1908.

Fahīm, Muḥammad Abū ‘Ubayya: *Preface to Ibn Kathīr’s al-Nihāya*, Beirut, N.D.

Al-Fatnī, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Hindī: *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū‘āt*, Maṭba‘ al-Sharaf, Cairo, 1343.

Fuwād ‘Abd al-Bāqī: a) *Miftāḥ Kunūz al-Sunnah*, 1st ed. Cairo, 1352/1933.

b) *Mu‘jam al-Mufahras li Alfāz al-Qur’ān*, 2nd. imp. Cairo.

c) *Taysīr al-Manfa‘ah*, Cairo, 1935-9.

Al-Ghadamisī, Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā: *Al-Mursal min al-Hadīth*, Darif Ltd., London, N.D.

Al-Ghimārī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq Abū l-Faiḍ: *Ibrāz al-Wahm al-Maknūn min Kalām Ibn Khaldūn*, Damascus, 1347.

Al-Haithamī, ‘Alī b. Abū Bakr: a) *Majma‘ al-Zawā‘id wa manba‘ al-Fawā‘id*, Maktaba al-Qudsī, 1352.

b) *Mawārid al-Zam‘ān ilā Zawā‘id Ibn Hibbān*, ed. M. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Hamza, Maktaba al-Ma‘ārif, Riyadh.

c) *Kashf al-Astār ‘an Zawā‘id al-Bazzār*, ed. Ḥabib al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, Mu‘assasa al-Risāla, Beirut, 1405/1985.

Ḥājī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā b. ‘Abdullāh: *Kashf al-Zunūn ‘an Asmā’ al-Kutub wa l-Funūn*, Turkey, 1941.

Al-Ḥākim, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh: a) *Ma‘rifat ‘Ulūm al-Hadīth*, ed. by Mu‘azzam Ḥusain, Cairo, 1937.

b) *Al-Madkhal fī ‘Ilm al-Hadīth*, ed. and translated by J. Robson, Luzac, 1953.

c) *Al-Mustadrak*, 4 vols., Hyderabad.



Ḥammām b. Munabbih: a) *Ṣaḥīfah*, ed. by Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, 1st ed. Damascus, 1372/1953.

b) *Ṣaḥīfah*, English transl., 5th ed., Hyderabad, 1380/1961.

Al-Ḥamzawī, Ḥasan al-‘Adawī al-Misrī: *Mashāriq al-Anwār fī Fauz Ahl al-I’tibār*, Maṭba‘a ‘Uthmāniyya, Istanbul, 1307.

Ḥasan, Ṣuhaib: *Criticism of Ḥadīth among Muslims with reference to Sunan Ibn Māja*, Al-Quran Society, 2nd ed. London, 1986.

Al-Ḥāzimī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā: *Shurūṭ al-A’imma al-Khamsa* with comments by M. Zāhid al-Kautharī, Cairo, N.D.

Al-Hindī, ‘Alī al-Muttaqī: a) *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, 8 vols., 1st ed., Hyderabad, 1312-14.

b) *Talkhūṣ al-Bayān fī ‘Alāmāt al-Mahdī*, ms. no. OR 4280, British Library, London, containing:

i) al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān: *Al-‘Urf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Mahdī*;

ii) Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī al-Maqdisī al-Shāfi‘ī: *‘Aqd al-Durar fī Akhbār al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*;

iii) al-Haithamī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥajar: *Al-Qaul al-Mukhtaṣar fī ‘Alāmāt al-Mahdī*.

Ḥusain, Muḥammad al-Khidr: *Nazrāt fī Aḥādīth al-Mahdī*, Majalla al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, issues nos. 35-6 Vol. 16, Muḥarram, 1370.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ‘Abdullāh: a) *Al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Aṣḥāb*, 4 vols. ed. M. al-Bijāwī, Cairo.

b) *Tajrīd al-Tamhūd Limā fī Muwaṭṭa’ min al-Asānīd*, Cairo, 1350.

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Abū Ḥāmid ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ḥibatullāh: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, N.D.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān: a) *Al-Jarḥ wa l-Ta’dīl*, Introduction, 8 vols., Hyderabad, 1360-1373.

b) *Kitāb ‘Ilal al-Ḥadīth*, Maṭba‘a Salafiyya, Cairo, 1343.

Ibn Abī Shaiba, Abū Bakr: *Al-Muṣannaf*, Dar al-Qur’ān, Karachi, 1406/1984.

Ibn ‘Adī, Abū Aḥmad ‘Abdullāh: *Al-Kāmil fī Du‘afā al-Rijāl*, Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, 1404/1984.

Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad: *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, N.D.

Ibn ‘Asākir, Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan: *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 7 vols., First five vols. ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Badrān. 6th and 7th ed. Aḥmad ‘Ubaid, Damascus, 1329-1350/1911-1931.

Ibn Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn: *Al-Kāmil fī l-Tārīkh*, 12 vols., Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, 1965.



Ibn al-Athīr, Mubārak b. Muḥammad: a) *Al-Nihāya fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1311/1893.

b) *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl*, 11 vols., Beirut, 1400/1980.

Ibn Badrān, 'Abd al-Qādir: *Al-Madkhal ilā Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, al-Maṭba'a al-Muniriyya, Cairo, 1401.

Ibn Bāz, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdullāh: *Ta'līq 'alā Muḥaḍarāt al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-'Abbād*, Majalla al-Jāmi'a al-Islāmiyya, 3rd issue, Dhū l-Qa'da, 1388.

Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad b. 'Alī: a) *Al-Durar al-Kamīna*, Hyderabad, 1348.

b) *Fath al-Bārī, Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Al-Halabi Press, 1959.

c) *Hady al-Sarī*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1383/1964.

d) *Al-Iṣāba fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1358/1939.

e) *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6 vols., Hyderabad.

f) *Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*, Cairo, 1322.

g) *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols., Hyderabad, 1325-7.

h) *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, 2 vols., ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, A. Latīf, Cairo, 1960.

Ibn Ḥajar, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Haithamī al-Makkī: a) *Fatāwā Hadīthiyya*, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1390.

b) *Al-Qaul al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Alāmāt al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, Maktaba al-Sa'i, Riyadh, N.D.

c) *Al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muhriqa fī al-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Bid'a wa l-Zandaqa*, Cairo, N.D.

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad: a) *Al-'Ilāl wa Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, ed. by Talat Kocyigit, Ankara, 1963.

b) *Al-Musnad*, 6 vols., Cairo, 1313.

c) *Al-Musnad*, ed. by Aḥmad Shākir, 15 vols., Cairo, 1949-

Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī: a) *Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal wa l-Aḥwā' wa l-Nihāl*, with al-Shahrastānī: *al-Milal wa l-Nihal* in the margin, 5 vols. in 2, reprint of the 1317-21 ed., al-Muthanna, Baghdad, 1963.

b) *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, Maṭba'a al-Sa'āda, Cairo, 1345.

Ibn Hibbān, Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī: a) *Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Hibbān*, 1st vol., ed. Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo, 1952.

Ibn 'Irāq, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Kinānī: *Tanzīh al-Sharī'a al-Marfū'a 'an al-Aḥādīth al-Shanī'a al-Mawḍū'a*, Cairo, N.D.

Ibn al-Jauzī, Abū l-Faraj Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī: a) *Al-'Ilal al-Mutanāhiya fī l-Aḥādīth al-Wāhiya*, Dār Nashr al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, Lahore, 1399/1979.

- b) *Kitāb al-Maudū'āt*, 3 vols., al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, Madina, 1388/1968.
- c) *Talbīs Iblīs*, Al-Maṭba'a al-Muniriyya, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1368.
- Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl b. 'Umar: a) *Al-Bidāya wa l-Nihāya*, 14 vols., 1st ed. Cairo, 1932-
- b) *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Maktaba al-Jumhūriyya al-'Arabiyya, Cairo, N.D.
- Ibn Khaldūn: *Al-Muqaddima*, Al-Azhariyya, Cairo, 1348/1930.
- Ibn Khillikān, Abū l-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm: *Wafīyyat al-A'yān wa Anbā Abnā' al-Zamān*, 4 vols., Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, N.D.
- Ibn al-Madīnī, 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far: *Kitāb al-'Ilal*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī, al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1392/1972.
- Ibn Māja, Muḥammad b. Yazīd: *Sunan*, 2 vols., ed. by M.F.A. Bāqī, Cairo, 1373/1954.
- Ibn Manẓūr al-Afrīqī, Muḥammad b. Mukarram: *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut, 1375/1955.
- Ibn al-Qayyim, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: a) *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn*, 4 vols., Dār al-Fikr, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1397/1977.
- b) *Al-Manār al-Munīf fī l-Ṣaḥīḥ wa l-Ḍa'if*, ed. by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, Halab, N.D.
- c) *Tahdhīb Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, 8 vols. ed. M. H. Alfīqī, Cairo, 1948-9.
- Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, Zain al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad: *Sharḥ 'Ilal al-Tirmidhī*, Maṭba'a al-Anī, Baghdad, 1396.
- Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mālikī: *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma fī Ma'rifat Aḥwāl al-A'imma*, Najaf, N.D.
- Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, 9 vols. ed. by E. Sachau, Leiden, 1904-1940.
- Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ: *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, ed. by al-Tabbakh, Halab, 1350.
- Ibn Taimiyya, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm: a) *Minhāj al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya*, Imām Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, 1406/1986.
- b) *Majmū' Fatāwā Ibn Taimiyya*, 37 vols., Riyadh, 1398.
- Ibn Tāwūs, Radī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Ḥasanī: *Al-Malāḥim wa l-Fitan fī Zuhūr al-Ghā'ib al-Muntazar*, Dār al-Ṣādiq, 5th ed. Beirut, 1398/1978.
- Ibn Ṭulūn, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Dimashqī: *Al-A'imma al-Ithna 'Ashar*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Dar Beirut, 1377/1958.
- Al-'Irāqī, Zain al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm: a) *Al-Taḥyīd wa l-'Idāḥ Sharḥ Muqaddima Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, Maktaba Salafiyya, Madina, 1389/1969.
- b) *Alfiyat al-Ḥadīth*, Maṭba'a al-'Āṣima, Cairo, 1355/1937.
- Al-Irbīlī, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Abū l-Faṭḥ: *Kashf al-Ghumma fī Ma'rifat al-A'imma*, Najaf, 1965.



Al-Iṣfahānī, Abū l-Faraj: *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, ed. Kāzīm al-Muẓaffar, Najaf, 1965.

Al-Jazā'irī, Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad: *Taujīh al-Nazar ilā Uṣūl al-Nazar*, Maktaba 'Ilmiyya, Madina, N.D.

Al-Juwainī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyid al-Khurāsānī: *Farā'id al-Samṭain*, Qum, Iran, 1400.

Kaḥalla, 'Umar Raḍā: *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn*, Maṭba'a al-Taraqqī, Damascus, 1376/1957.

Kāndhalwī, Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Ṣiddīqī: *Mahdawiyyat ne Islam ko kiya diya ?*, Karachi, 1987.

Al-Kanjī, al-Ḥāfiz Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad: *Al-Bayān fī Akhbār Ṣāhib al-Zamān*, al-Haidariyya, Najaf, 1390/1970.

Al-Kattānī, Muḥammad b. Ja'far: a) *Al-Risāla al-Mustaṭrafa*, 3rd ed. Damascus, 1964.

b) *Nazm al-Mutanāthir min al-Ḥadīth al-Mutawātir*, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 1400/1980.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī: a) *Al-Kifāya fī 'Ilm al-Riwāya*, Hyderabad, 1357.

b) *Taqyīd al-'Ilm*, ed. Y. Eche, Damascus, 1949.

c) *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols., Cairo, 1931.

Al-Khaṭṭābī: *Ma'ālim al-Sunan*, 8 vols. ed. M. H. Alfiqī, Cairo, 1948-9. Printed with *Tahdhīb al-Sunan* of Ibn al-Qayyim.

Al-Khazrajī, Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh: *Khulāṣat Tadhīb al-Kamāl*, 3rd ed. Halab, 1399/1979.

Al-Khumainī, Āyat Allāh: *Al-Ḥukūmat al-Islāmiyya*, Dār al-Qudus, Beirut, N.D.

Al-Kulainī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb: *Al-Kāfī*, 8 vols., Tehran, 1381.

Madelung, Wilfred: a) *'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī*, JNES 40, no. 4, Univ. of Chicago, 1981.

b) *Mahdī*, Encyclopædia of Islam, 1956.

Mahdī al-Faqīh al-Yamānī: *Al-Imām al-Mahdī 'inda Ahl al-Sunna*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. Isbahan, Iran, 1402.

*Majalla al-Mujtama'*, Kuwait, issue dated 8th July 1980.

Al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir: a) *Bihār al-Anwār*, 58 vols., 1st ed. Tehran, 1376.

b) *Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn*, Tehran, N.D.

Mālik b. Anas: *Muwaṭṭa'*, 2 vols. ed. by M.F.A. Bāqī, Cairo, 1370/1951.



- Al-Manāwī, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf b. ‘Alī: *Faiḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi’ al-Ṣaghīr*, Dār al-Ma’rifā, Beirut, N.D.
- Margoliouth, D.S.: a) *Mahdī*, Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, pp. 336-340, N.D.
- b) *On Mehdis and Mehdism*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 7, December 1915.
- Marzūq, ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr: *Mahdī al-Ṣomāl*, The Muslim Institute, London, 1986.
- Al-Mashukhī, Ibrāhīm: *Al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar*, Al-Manār, 2nd ed. Jordan, 1406/1986.
- Al-Maudūdī, Abū l-A‘lā: *Tajdīd Iḥyā’ al-Dīn*, Islamic Publications, 16th ed. Lahore, 1982.
- Mirza, Ghulām Aḥmad: a) *Aik Ghaltī kā Izāla*, Qadian, 1901.
- b) *Dāfi’ al-Balā*, Qadian, 1902.
- c) *Hamāmat al-Bushrā*, Qadian, India, 1894.
- d) *Ḥaqīqat al-Wahy*, Qadian, 1907.
- e) *Malfūẓāt*, Qadian, 1936.
- Al-Mubārakfūrī, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm: *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwazī Sharḥ Jāmi’ al-Tirmidhī*, al-Fajjalah, Cairo, N.D.
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā‘īl: *Mahdī Ḥaqīqa Lā Khurāfa*, Dār Iḥyā’ al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, Alexandria, 1404/1984.
- Mullah ‘Alī al-Qārī, ‘Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Harawī: a) *Al-Asrār al-Marfū‘a fī al-Akbār al-Maudū‘a*, Mu’assasa al-Risāla, Beirut, 1971.
- b) *Al-Maṣnū‘ fī Ma’rifat al-Ḥadīth al-Maudū‘*, Halab, 1389/1969.
- c) *Kitāb al-Maudū‘at*, Istanbul, N.D.
- d) *Mirqāt al-Mafātiḥ Sharḥ Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, 5 vols., Cairo, 1309/1892.
- Al-Mundhirī, ‘Abd al-‘Alīm b. ‘Abd al-Qawī: *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abū Dāwūd*, ed. by M. H. Alfiqī, 8 vols., Cairo, 1948. Printed with Tahdhīb al-Sunan.
- Muslim b. Hajjāj al-Qushairī: *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5 vols. ed. by M.F.A. Bāqī, 1st ed. Cairo, 1374/1955.
- Al-Muzaffar, Muḥammad Raḍā: *‘Aqā’id al-Imāmiyya*, Maṭba‘a Nur al-Amal, Cairo, 1381.
- Al-Nasā’ī, Aḥmad b. Shu‘aib: a) *Kitāb al-Du‘afā wa l-Matrūkīn*, Beirut, 1405/1985.
- b) *Al-Sunan*, 2 vols., Delhi, 1959.
- Nāṣif, Mansur ‘Alī: *Al-Tāj al-Jāmi’ li al-Uṣūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl*, Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, Beirut, 1382/1962.

- Al-Nawawī, Abū Zakariyya Yahyā b. Sharaf: *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo, 1349.
- Nu‘aim b. Hammād al-Khudā‘ī: a) *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS no. OR 9449, British Library, London.
- b) *Kitāb al-Fitan*, MS no. 602, Ātif Efendi, Istanbul.
- Pickthall, Moḥammed Marmaduke: *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur’ān*, 10th imp. New Americal Library, 1963.
- Qādī ‘Iyād b. Musā al-Jahshūbī: a) *Al-Ilmā’ ila Ma’rifat Uṣūl al-Riwāya wa Taqyid al-Simā’*, Dār al-Turāth, Cairo, 1970.
- b) *Kitāb al-Shifā*, Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, Cairo, N.D.
- Al-Qandūzī, Sulaimān b. Ibrāhīm Khwāja Kalān al-Ḥusainī: *Yanābi’ al-Mawadda*, Istanbul, 1301.
- Al-Qāsimī, Muhammad Jamāl al-Din: a) *Qawā’id al-Tahdīth*, ed. by M.B. al-Baitār, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1380/1961.
- b) *Al-Jarḥ wa l-Ta’dīl*, Mu’assasa al-Risāla, Beirut, 1399/1979.
- Al-Qimmī, ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm: *Al-Tafsīr*, ed. Al-Sayyid Tayyib al-Musawī, 2nd ed. Kitabfaroshi, Qum, 1968.
- Al-Qudā‘ī, Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad b. Salama: *Musnad al-Shihāb*, Mu’assasa al-Risāla, Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Al-Qurtubī, Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr: *Al-Tadhkira fī Aḥwāl al-Mauta wa ‘Umūr al-Ākhira*, Cairo, 1980.
- Al-Raf‘ī, Mustafā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah al-‘Alawī: *‘Unwān al-Nijāba fī Ma’rifat man māta bi l-Madinah min al-Sahāba*, Dar al-‘Arabiyya, 3rd ed. Beirut, 1392/1972.
- Rashīd Ridā, Muḥammad: *Tafsīr al-Manār*, 12 vols., Cairo, 1324-6.
- Sachedina, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ‘Abd al-Ḥusain: *Islamic Messianism*, State University of New York Press, 1981.
- Sa’d, Muḥammad Ḥasan: *Al-Mahdiyya fī l-Islam*, Cairo, 1373/1953.
- Al-Ṣadr, al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn: *Al-Mahdī*, Beirut, N.D.
- Al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad: a) *Fath al-Mughūth Sharḥ Alfiyat al-Ḥadīth*, Lucknow, N.D.
- b) *Al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasana*, ed. ‘Abdullah M. Ṣiddiq, Cairo, 1375/1956.
- Ṣālih, Muḥammad Adīb: *Lamahāt fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1389.
- Al-Ṣālih, Ṣubḥī: *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 3rd ed. Beirut, 1384/1965.
- Al-Ṣan‘ānī, Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām: *Al-Muṣannaf*, 11 vols., 2nd ed. Beirut, 1983.



- Al-Ṣanʿānī, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Amīr: *Taudiḥ al-Afkār*, 2 vols. ed. by M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, Cairo, 1366.
- Sayyid Aḥmad Khan, Sir: *Maqālāt Sir Sayyid*, compiled by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Pānīputī, Lahore, 1961.
- Sezgin, Muḥammad Fuwād: *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1977.
- Al-Shāfīʿī, Muḥammad b. Idrīs: *Al-Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo, 1358/1940.
- Al-Shahrastānī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm: *Kitāb al-Milal wa l-Niḥal*, ed. Aḥmad Fahmī Maḥmūd, 3 vols., Cairo, 1948-9.
- Al-Shaibānī, Abū Bakr ʿAmr b. ʿĀsim al-Dahḥāk b. Makhlad: *Kitāb al-Sunnah*, 2 vols., Damascus, 1400/1980.
- Shākir, Aḥmad Muḥammad: a) *Al-Bāʿith al-Ḥathūth Sharḥ Ikhtisār ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*, 2nd imp. Cairo, 1951.
- Al-Shaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī: *Al-Yawāqūt wa l-Jawāhir fī bayān ʿAqāʾid al-Akābir*, Dār al-Maʿrifa, Beirut, N.D.
- Al-Shaukānī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī: *Al-Fawāʾid al-Majmūʿa fī l-Aḥādīth al-Maudūʿah*, ed. Al-Yamānī, 1st ed. Cairo, 1380/1960.
- Shiblī Nuʿmānī: a) *Al-Fārūq*, 2 vols. in one, Lahore, N.D.
- b) *Sirat al-Nuʿmān*, Agra, 1893.
- Sibāʿī, Muṣṭafa: *Al-Sunna wa Makānatuha fī al-Tashrīʿ al-Islāmī*, 1st ed. Cairo, 1380/1961.
- Sibt Ibn al-Jauzī, Yūsuf b. Qāz Oghalī: *Tadhkira al-Khawāṣ*, Najaf, 1383/1963.
- Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khan, Muḥammad al-Qannūjī: *Al-Idhāʿa li ma kāna wa mā yakūnu baina yaday al-Sāʿa*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, Beirut, 1399/1979.
- Al-Soyan, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: *ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Sanʿānī wa Muṣannafuh*, Majalla al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīa, issue no. 17, Dhu l-Qaʿda/Ṣafar 1406/7, Riyadh.
- Al-Suḥaibānī, Ḥamad b. Ṣāliḥ: *Ḥaqīqa Daʿwa Ibn Taumart*, Al-Bayān journal, issue no. 17-18, April-May 1989, Al-Muntadā al-Islāmī, London.
- Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: a) *Al-Hāwī li l-Fatāwī*, 2 vols., Dar al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, Beirut, N.D.
- b) *Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Maktaba Wahba, Cairo, 1393/1973.
- c) *Tadrīb al-Rāwī Sharḥ Taqrīb al-Nawawī*, ed. A.A. Latīf, 1st ed. Cairo, 1379/1959.
- d) *Tārīkh al-Khulafā*, Matbaʿa Munīriyya, Cairo, 1351.
- e) *Al-ʿUrf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Mahdī*, contained in Al-Hāwī.



- Al-Ṭabarānī, Abū l-Qāsim Sulaimān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb: a) *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, 7 vols. ed. by Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ṣalafī, Baghdad, 1978.
- b) *Al-Mu'jam al-Ausat*, 2 vols., Maktaba al-Ma'ārif, Riyadh, 1405/1985.
- Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr: *Tārīkh al-Umam wa l-Mulūk*, 10 vols., Al-ʾIstiḳāma, Cairo, 1358/1939.
- Al-Ṭabarī, Muḥib al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad: *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā fi Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurbā*, Maktaba al-Qudus, Cairo, 1356.
- Al-Ṭabrizī, Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah al-Khaṭīb: *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, 3 vols. ed. M. N. al-Albānī, al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1383.
- Al-Ṭaḥān, Maḥmūd: *Usūl al-Tākhrij wa Dirāsa al-Asānīd*, Ḥalab, 1398/1978.
- Al-Ṭibī, al-Ḥuṣain b. 'Abdullah: *Al-Khulaṣā fi Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, ed. Ṣubḥī al-Samarrā'i, Baghdad, 1391.
- Al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Sulaimān: *Al-Sunan*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir, 2nd ed. Cairo, 1395.
- Al-Ṭūsi, Abū Ja'far: *Talkhiṣ al-Shāfi*, 4 vols., Najaf, 1383/1963.
- Al-Tuwaijirī, Ḥamūd b. 'Abdullah b. Ḥamūd: *Iqāmat al-Burhān fi l-Radd 'alā man ankara khurūj al-Mahdi wa l-Dajjal fi Akhir al-Zamān*, Al-Mā'arif, Riyadh, 1405/1985.
- Al-'Uqailī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr: *Kitāb al-Du'afā al-Kabīr*, a photocopy of a manuscript in al-Zāhiriyya Library (Damascus), Islamic University, Madina.
- Wajdi, Muḥammad Farīd: *Dā'ira Ma'ārif al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn*, 2nd ed. Beirut, 1971.
- Wensinck, A.J.: *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, 5 vols., Leiden, 1936.
- Al-Zanjānī, Ibrāhīm al-Musawī: *'Aqā'id al-Imāmiyya al-Ithnā 'Ashariyya*, 2 vols., Beirut, 1977.
- Al-Zar'ī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdullah: *Rijāl al-Shi'a fi al-Mizān*, Dār al-Arqam, Kuwait, 1403/1983.
- Al-Zirkilī, Khair al-Dīn: *Al-A'lām*, 10 vols., 5th ed. Beirut, 1980.
- Al-Zurqānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī: *Sharḥ Muwattā'*, 4 vols., Bulaq 1280/1863.

# **PART THREE**

## **THE ARABIC TEXTS**

**(Handwritten copy by Suhaib Hasan)**

# بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

## كتاب المحدث

١- من المصنف " للحافظ الكبير أبي بكر عبد الرزاق بن همام الصنعاني  
أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن قتادة يرفعه إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم  
[راسنار البوداؤد حدثنا محمد بن المثنى حدثنا معاذ بن هشام حدثني أبي  
عن قتادة عن صالح أبي الخليل عن صاحب له عن أم سلمة زوج النبي صلى الله  
عليه وسلم] قال : يكون اختلاف عند موت خليفة فيخرج رجل من [أهل]  
المدنية [هاريًا] إلى مكة ويأتيه ناس من أهل مكة فيخرجونه وهو  
كاره فيبايعونه بين الركن والمقام ويبعث إليه جيش [بعث] من  
الشام حتى إذا كانوا بالبيداء خسف بهم [بين مكة والمدنية] فإذا  
رأى الناس ذلك [أتاه أبدال الشام وعصائب أهل] العراق فيبايعونه  
[ثم ينشأ رجل من قريش أخواله كلب فيبعث إليهم بعثًا فيظفرون  
عليهم وذلك بعث كلب والخينة لمن لم يشهد غنيمة كلب]  
فيستخرج الكنوز وبقية المال [ويعمل في الناس بسنة نبئهم  
صلى الله عليه وسلم ويلقى الإسلام بجرانه إلى الأرض يعيش في ذلك  
[مكة] سبع سنين [ثم يتوفى ويصلى عليه المسلمون] أو تسع  
سنين

٢- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق قال أخبرنا معمر عن أبي هارون عن معاوية بن قرة  
عن أبي الصديق الناجي عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال : ذكر رسول الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم بلاء يصيب هذه الأمة حتى لا يجد الرجل ملجأً إليه من  
الظلم فيبعث الله رجلاً من عترتي من أهل بيتي فيملأ به الأرض قسطاً  
كما ملئت ظلمًا وجورًا يرضى عنه ساكن السماء وساكن الأرض ، لا تدع  
السماء من قطرها شيئاً إلا صبت به مدراراً ولا تدع الأرض من ماءها شيئاً  
إلا أخرجته حتى تسمى الأحياء الأموات يعيش في ذلك سبع سنين  
أو ثمان أو تسع سنين -



- ٣- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن أيوب عن ابن سيرين عن أبي الجبل قال: تكون فتنة ثم تتبعها أخرى لا تكن الأولى في الآخرة إلا كثرة السوط تتبعه ذباب السيف ثم تكون فتنة فلا يبقى لله محرم إلا استحل ثم يجتمع الناس على خيرهم رجل تأتبه أمارته هنيئاً وهو في بيته -
- ٤- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن مطر قال لعب: إنما سمى المصدي لأنه لا يصدي لأمر قد خفي، قال: وسيتخرج التوراة والانجيل من أرض يقال لها أنطاكية -
- ٥- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن مطر عن رجل عن أبي سعيد الخدري قال: إن المصدي أقنى أجلى -
- ٦- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن سعيد الجبري عن أبي نضرة عن جابر بن عبد الله قال: يكون على الناس إمام لا يعذر لهم الدراهم ولكن يحثو -
- ٧- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن ابن طاووس عن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس قال: لا يخرج المصدي حتى تطلع مع الشمس آية -
- ٨- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن أبي اسحاق عن عاصم بن ضمرة عن علي قال: لَمْ يَلَمْزْ الْأَرْضَ ظُلْماً وَجَوَراً حتى لا يقول أحد: الله الله بيتعلق به ثم لَمْ يَلَمْزْ لأن بعد ذلك قسطاً وعدلاً كما ملئت ظُلماً وجوراً -
- ٩- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن أسما عيل بن أمية عن رجل - قال معمر: أراه سعيد - عن أبي هريرة يرويه قال: ويل للعرب من شرّ قد اقترب على رأس الستين، تصير الأمانة غنيمة والصدقة غريمة والشرارة بالمعرفة والحكم بالصوى -
- ١٠- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق قال أخبرنا معمر عن الأعمش عن خيثمة عن عبد الله بن عمرو قال: ليأتين على الناس زمان لا يبقى فيه مؤمن إلا كان بالشام -
- ١١- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن الأعمش عن القاسم بن عبد الرحمن قال شكى إلى ابن مسعود الفرات فقالوا: نخاف أن يفتق علينا فلو أرسلت من يسكره فقال عبد الله: لا نسكره فوالله ليأتين

على الناس زمان لو التمس فيه ملء طست من ماء ما وجدتموه وليرجين كل ماء إلى عنصره ويكون بقية الماء والمسلمين بالشام -

١٢- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن أيوب أو غيره عن ابن سيرين قال: ينزل ابن مريم عليه لأُمته وممصرتان بين الأذان والإقامة فيقولون له: تقدم فيقول بل يصلي بكم أمامكم، أنتم أمراء بعضكم على بعض -

١٣- أخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر قال: كان ابن سيرين يرى أنه المهدى الذي يصلي وراءه عيسى -

---

# بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

## كتاب الفتن

### لنعمان بن حماد المروزي

- ١- حدثنا الوليد عن أبي عبد الله عن هشام المعيطي عن أبان بن الوليد بن عقبة بن أبي معيط عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنه أنه قدم على معاوية وأنا حاضره فأجازه وأحسن جائزته ثم قال يا أبا العباس: هل يكون لكم دولة قال أغفني من هذا يا أمير المؤمنين قال لتخبرني قال نعم وذلك في آخر الزمان قال فمن أنصاركم قال أهل خراسان قال ولبنو أمية من بني هاشم نطحات ولبنو هاشم من بني أمية نطحات ثم يخرج السفاني +
- ٢- حدثنا رجل عن راؤد بن عبد الجبار الكوفي عن سلمة بن مجنون قال سمعت أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه يقول كنت في بيت ابن عباس فقال اعلقوا الباب ثم قال ما هنا من غيرنا أحد قالوا لا وكنت في ناحية من القوم فقال ابن عباس إذا رأيتم الرايات السود تخرج من قبل المشرق فأكرموا الفرس فإن دولتنا فيهم قال أبو هريرة فقلت لا بن عباس أفلا أحدثك ما سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول إذا خرجت الرايات السود فإن أولها فتنة وأوسطها ضلالة وآخرها كفر +
- ٣- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله أبو عبد الله التاهري التيمي عن عبد الرحمن بن زياد بن أنعم عن مسلم بن يسار عن سعيد بن المسيب قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يخرج من المشرق رايات سود لبني العباس ثم تملك ما شاء الله ثم تخرج رايات سود صفراء على رجل من ولد أبي سفيان وأصحابه من قبل المشرق +
- ٤- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان حدثنا محمد بن ستوار عن عبيد الله بن الوليد عن محمد بن علي قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ويل لأمتي من الشيعة شيعه بنو أمية وشيعه بنو العباس وراية الضلالة +
- ٥- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن أوطاة بن المنذر قال حدثني تبيع عن كعب قال لا تذهب الأيام حتى تخرج لبني العباس رايات سود من قبل المشرق +
- ٦- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله عن عبد السلام بن مسلم عن أبي قبيل قال لا يزال الناس بخير في رءاء ما لم ينقض مملك بنو العباس فإذا انتقض مملكتهم لم يزالوا في فتن حتى تقوم المهدي +
- ٧- حدثنا الوليد عن أبي عبدة المشجعي عن أبي أمية الطلبي قال حدثنا شيخ قد أدرك الجاهلية قد سقط حاجباه على عينيه قال لا تزال أصحاب الرايات السود شديدة رقابهم حتى يختلفوا فيما بينهم يخالف بعضهم بعضاً فيفترقون ثلاث فرق، فرقة يدعون لبني فاطمة وفرقة يدعون لبني العباس وفرقة يدعون لأنفسهم قلت ومن أنفها قال لا أدرى هكذا سمعت +



٨- حدثنا أبو عمرو البصري عن ابن لريجة عن عبد الوهاب بن حسين عن محمد بن ثابت البناني عن أبيه عن الحارث الصمداني عن ابن مسعود رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال السابع من بني العباس يدعوا الناس إلى الكفر فلا يجيبونه فيقول له أهل بيته تريد أن تخرجنا من معاشنا فيقول إن أسير فيكم بسيرة أبي بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما فيأبون عليه فيقتله عدوه له من أهل بيته من بني هاشم فإذا وثب عليه اختلفوا فيما بينهم فذكر اختلافًا طويلاً إلى خروج السفيا في

٩- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن أرطاة بن المنذر عن حدثه عن كعب قال إذا خلع من بني العباس رجلان وهما الفرعان وقع بينهما الاختلاف الأول ثم يتبعه الاختلاف الآخر الذي فيه النضاء وخروج السفيا في عند اختلافهم الثاني.

١٠- حدثنا أبو يوسف المقدسي وكان كوفياً حدثنا فطر بن خليفة عن منذر الثوري عن محمد بن الحنفية قال يملك بنو العباس حتى يأتين الناس من الخير ثم ينشعب أمرهم فإن لم يجدوا إلا حبر عقرب فارخلوا فيه فإنه يكون في الناس شر طويل ثم يزول ملكهم ويقوم المهدي.

١١- حدثنا ابن أبي هريرة عن أبيه عن عائشة بن أبي طلحة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إذا مات الخامس من أهل بيتي فالهرج الحرج يموت السابع ثم كذلك حتى يقوم المهدي.

١٢- حدثنا الحكم بن نافع عن جراح عن أرطاة قال يقاتل السفيا في الترك ثم يكون استيصالهم على يدي المهدي وهو أول لواء يعقده المهدي يجهشه إلى الترك.

١٣- حدثنا الوليد عن شيخ عن الزهري قال في خروج السفيا في يرى علامة في السماء.

١٤- عن الوليد قال بلغني عن كعب أنه قال يطلع نجم من المشرق قبل خروج المهدي له ذناب قال وحدثت عن شريك أنه قال بلغني أنه قبل خروج المهدي تنكسف الشمس في شهر رمضان مرتين.

١٥- حدثنا ابن المبارك وعبد الرزاق عن معمر عن جلي عن سعيد بن المسيب قال تكون بالشام فتنة كلما سكنت من جانب طمت من جانب فلا تنأهي حتى نأري منادي من السماء إن أميركم فلان.

١٦- حدثنا أبو عمرو عن ابن لريجة عن عبد الوهاب بن حسين عن محمد بن ثابت عن أبيه عن الحارث عن عبد الله قال لا ينجوم من بليتر إلا من صبر على الحصار والمحقل من السفيا في بإذن الله تعالى ثلاث مدن

- للأعاجم ناحية الثخور مدنية يقال لها أنطاكية ومدنية يقال لها قورس ومدنية يقال لها خميساء والمعقل من الروم جبل يقال لها العنق .
- ١٧- حدثنا الوليد قال أخبرني شيخ عن الزهري قال يلتقي أصحاب الرايات السور وأصحاب الرايات الصفر عند القنطرة فيقتتلون حتى يأتوا فلسطين فيخرج على أهل المشرق السفيا فيأذا نزل أهل المغرب الأردن مات صاحبهم فيفترقون ثلاث فرق فرقة ترجع من حيث جاءت وفرقة تتحج وفرقة تثبت فيقاتلهم السفيا فيهزمهم فيدخلون في طاعته .
- ١٨- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن أبيه عن عمرو بن شعيب عن أبيه قال دخلت على عبد الله بن عمر حين نزل الحجاج بالكعبة فسمعته يقول إذا أقبلت الرايات السور من المشرق والرايات الصفر من المغرب حتى يلتقوا في سرة الشام يعني دمشق فضالك البلاء هنالك البلاء .
- ١٩- حدثنا الوليد عن أبي عبد الله عن عبد الكريم عن ابن الحنفية قال بين خروج الراية السوراء من خراسان وشعيب بن صالح وخروج المهدي وبين أن يسلم الأمر للمهدي أثنان وسبعون شهرا .
- ٢٠- حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد عن سليمان بن عيسى قال بلغني أن السفيا في يملك ثلاث سنين ونصف .
- ٢١- حدثنا عبد القدوس وغيره عن ابن عياش عن حدثه عن محمد بن جعفر عن علي قال السفيا في من ولد خالد بن يزيد بن أبي سفيان رجل ضخم الهامة بوجهه آثار هدرتي ولجنيه نكتة بياض يخرج من ناحية مدينة دمشق في وادي يقال له وادي اليا بس يخرج في سبعة نفر مع رجل منهم لواء معقود يعرفون في لواءه النصر يسير بين يديه على ثلاثين ميلا لا يرى ذلك العلم أحد يريد إلا انهزم .
- ٢٢- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن أوطاة بن المنذر عن حدثه عن كعب قال اسم السفيا في عبد الله .
- ٢٣- حدثنا الوليد ورشدين عن ابن لهيعة عن أبي قبيل قال يملك رجل من بني هاشم فيقتل بني أمية فلا يبقى منهم إلا اليسير لا يقتل غيرهم ثم يخرج رجل من بني أمية فيقتل بكل رجل رجلين حتى لا يبقى إلا النساء ثم يخرج المهدي .
- ٢٤- قال ابن لهيعة وأخبرني عبد العزيز بن صالح عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس



رضي الله عنه قال اذا كان خروج السفيا في سبع وثلاثين كان ملكه ثمانية وعشرين شهرا وان خرج في تسع وثلاثين كان ملكه تسعة أشهر +  
٢٥- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن لصيغة عن أبي قبيل عن سعيد بن الأسود عن ذي فرات قال فتختلف الناس على أربع نفر رجلان بالشام رجل من آل الحكم أزرق أصرب ورجل من مصر قصير جبار والسفيا في والعائد بمكة فذلك أربعة نفر +

٢٦- قال الوليد ثم يستقبل السفيا في فيقاتل بني هاشم وكل من نازعه من الرأيا الثلاث وغيرها فيظهر عليهم جميعا ثم يسير إلى الكوفة ويخرج بني هاشم إلى العراق ثم يرجع من الكوفة فيموت في أدنى الشام ويستخلف رجلا آخر من ولد أبي سفيا يكون الغلبة له ويظهر على الناس وهو السفيا في -

٢٧- حدثنا الوليد عن أبي عبد الله عن عبد الكريم بن أمية عن ابن الحنفية قال إذا ظهر السفيا في على الأبقع دخل مصر فعند ذلك خراب مصر -

٢٨- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن هذيل بن عتيق بن إسحاق وكان رجلا علامة في الفتن قال ينزل الرقة رجل من ولد العباس فيمكث فيها سنتين ثم يغزو الروم فيكون بليته على المسلمين أعظم من بليته على الروم ثم يرجع من غزوه إلى الرقة فيأتيه من المشرق ما يكره فيرجع إلى الشرق فلا يرجع منها ثم يولي ابنه فعلى رأسه يكون خروج السفيا في وانقطاع ملكهم -

٢٩- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن لصيغة عن أبي قبيل عن أبي رومان عن علي قال يظهر السفيا في على الشام ثم يكون بينهم وقعة بقرقيسا حتى يشبع طير السماء وسباع الأرض من جيفهم ثم يقتل عليهم فتق من خلفهم فيقتل طائفة منهم حتى يدخلوا أرض خراسان ويقبل خيل السفيا في طلب أهل خراسان فيقتلون شيعة آل محمد بالكوفة ثم يخرج أهل خراسان في طلب المماليك +  
٣٠- حدثنا الوليد عن أبي عبد الله عن الوليد بن هشام المعيطي عن أبيان بن الوليد ابن عتبة بن أبي معيط سمع ابن عباس رضي الله عنه يقول يخرج السفيا في فيقاتل حتى يقرطون النساء ونعاي الأبطال في المراحل -

٣١- حدثنا الحكم بن نافع عن جراح عن أرطاة قال يدخل السفيا في الكوفة فيسبوا ثلاثة أيام وتقتل من أهلها ستين ألفا ثم يمكث فيها ثمانية عشر ليلة يقسم أموالها ودخوله مكة بعدما يقاتل الترك والروم بقرقيسا ثم يقتل عليهم خلفهم فتق فتراجع طائفة منهم إلى خراسان فيصل خيل السفيا في وليهم



الحصون حتى يدخل الكوفة ويلجأ أهل خراسان ويظهر بخراسان قوم يدعون إلى المهدي ثم يبعث السفيا إلى المدنية فيأخذ قوماً من آل محمد حتى يرد بهم الكوفة ثم يخرج المهدي ومنصور من الكوفة هاربين ويبعث السفيا في طلبهما فياذا بلغ المهدي ومنصور مكة نزل جيش السفيا في البداء فتخسف بهم ثم يخرج المهدي حتى يمر بالمدينة فيستنقذ من كان فيها من كان فيرا من بني هاشم وتقبل الرايات السور حتى تنزل على الماء فيبلغ من بالكوفة من أصحاب السفيا نزل ولهم فيهربون ثم ينزل الكوفة حتى يستنقذ من فيرا من بني هاشم ويخرج قوم من سواد الكوفة يقال لهم العصب ليس معهم سلاح إلا قليل وفيهم نفر من أهل البصرة فيدركون أصحاب السفيا فيستنقذون ما في أيديهم من سبي الكوفة ويبعث الرايات السور بالبيعة إلى المهدي -

٣٢- حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم عن أبي عبد الله عن عبد الكريم بن إسماعيل عن محمد بن الحنفية قال تخرج راية سورا لبني العباس ثم تخرج من خراسان أخرى سورا قلائسهم سود وثيابهم بيض على مقدمتهم رجل يقال له شعيب بن صالح أو صالح بن شعيب من تميم لهمون أصحاب السفيا حتى ينزل بيت المقدس يوطئ للمهدي سلطانه ويميد اليه ثلاثمائة من الشام يكون بين خروجه وبين أن يسلم الأمر للمهدي اثنان وسبعون شهرا -

٣٣- حدثنا محمد بن فضيل وعبد الله بن إدريس وحريز عن يزيد بن أبي زياد عن إبراهيم عن علقمة عن عبد الله بن عبد الله عن أبيه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إذا جاء فتية من بني هاشم فتغترلون فقلنا يا رسول الله ما نزال نرى في وجهك شيئا نكرهه فقال أنا أهل بيت اختار الله لنا الآخرة على الدنيا وإن أهل بيتي هؤلاء سيقتلون بعدي بلا وتطريدا وتشريدا حتى يأتي قوم من هاهنا من نحو المشرق أصحاب رايات سور سيئون الحق فلا يعطونه مرتين أو ثلاثا فيقاتلون وينصرون فيعطون ما سألو فلا يقبلوها حتى يدفعوها إلى رجل من أهل بيتي فيملؤها عدلا كما ملؤها ظلما فمن أدرك ذلك منكم فليأتهم ولو حبوا على الثلج فإنه المهدي -

٣٤- حدثنا أبو نصر الخفاف عن خالد بن أبي قلابه عن ثوبان قال إذا رأيت الرايات السور خرجت من قبل خراسان فأتوها ولو حبوا على الثلج فإن خليفة الله المهدي -

٣٥- حدثنا سعيد أبو عثمان عن جابر عن أبي جعفر قال يخرج شاب من بني هاشم بكفّ اليمنى خالاً من خراسان برايات سود بين يديه شعيب بن صالح يقاتل أصحاب السفيا فيهمزهم -

٣٦- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله أبو عبد الله التبريزي عن عبد الرحمن بن زياد بن أنعم عن مسلم بن يسار عن سعيد بن المسيب قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يخرج من المشرق رايات سود تقاتل رجالاً من ولد أبي سفيا وأصحابه من قبل المشرق يوردون الطاعة إلى المهدي -

٣٧- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله التبريزي عن معاوية بن صالح عن شريح بن عبيد وراشد بن سعد وضمرة بن حبيب ومشايخهم قالوا يبعث السفيا في خيله وجنوده فيبلغ عامة الشرق من أرض خراسان وأرض فارس فيثور بهم أهل المشرق فيقاتلونهم ويكون بينهم وقعتات في غير موضع فإذا طال عليهم قتالهم أياه بأعوار رجالاً من بني هاشم وهم يومئذ في آخر الشرق فيخرج بأهل خراسان على مقدمته رجل من بني تميم مولى لهم أصفر قليل اللحية يخرج إليه في خمسة آلاف إذا بلغه خروجه فيبانه فيصيره على مقدمته لو استقبله الجبال الرواسي لصدّها فيلتقي هو وخيل السفيا فيهمزهم وتقتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة ثم تكون الغلبة للسفيا فيهرب الراشعي ويخرج شعيب بن صالح مختفياً إلى بيت المقدس يوطئ للمهدي منزله إذا بلغه خروجه إلى الشام -

٣٨- حدثنا الوليد قال بلغني أن هذا الراشعي أخو المهدي لأبيه وقال بعضهم هو ابن عمّه - قال الوليد وقال بعضهم أنه لأميرت ولكنه بعد الهزيمة يخرج إلى مكة فإذا ظهر المهدي خرج معه -

٣٩- حدثنا عبد القدوس عن ابن عباس قال حدثني بعض أهل العلم عن محمد بن جعفر عن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال يكتب السفيا إلى الذي دخل الكوفة أخبليه بعدما يعركها عرك الأديب يأمره بالسير إلى الحجاز فيسير إلى المدينة فيضع السيف في قرش فيقتل منهم ومن الأنصار أربع مائة رجل ويقتل البطون ويقتل ولدان ويقتل أخوين من قرش رجل وأخيه يقال لهما محمد وفاطمة ويصلبهما على باب المسجد بالمدينة -

٤٠- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن لهيعة عن أبي قبيل عن أبي رومان عن عن علي قال يبعث بجيش إلى المدينة فيأخذون من قدروا عليه من



من آل محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ويقتل من بني هاشم رجال ونساء فعند ذلك يهرب المهدى والمبييض من المدينة إلى مكة فيبعث في طلبهما وقد لحقا بجرم الله وأمنه +

٤١- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن أرطاة عن تبيع عن كعب قال تستباح المدينة حينئذ وتقتل النفس الزكية -

٤٢- حدثنا ابن وهب عن يزيد بن عياض عن عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة عن عبد الرحمن بن موسى عن عبد الله بن صفوان عن حفصة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم رضى الله عنها قالت سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول يا أي جيش من قبل المغرب يريدون هذا البيت حتى إذا كانوا بالبيداء خسف بهم فيرجع من كان أمامهم لينظر ما فعل القوم فيصيرهم ما أصابهم فمن كان منك مستكرها أصابهم ما أصابهم ثم يبعث الله تعالى كل امرئ منهم على نبيه -

٤٣- حدثنا رشدين عن ابن لهيعة عن أبي قبيل عن سعيد بن الأسود عن

ذى قربات قال فإذا بلغ السفيا في الذي بمصر بعث جيشا إلى الذي بمكة فيخربون المدينة أشد من الحرة حتى إذا بلغوا البيداء خسف بهم -

٤٤- حدثنا الوليد عن شيخ عن جابر عن أبي جعفر قال يخسف بهم فلا ينجو

منهم إلا رجلان من كلب اسمهما وبر وويرث قلب وجوههما في أقفيتهما -

٤٥- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله التيريزي عن عبد السلام بن مسلمة عن أبي قبيل

قال لا يفلت منهم أحد إلا بشير ونذير فأما البشير فإنه يأتي المهدى

بمكة وأصحابه فيخبرهم بها كان من أمرهم ويكون شاهد ذلك في جبره

قد حوّل وجبره في قفاه فيصدقونه لما يرون من تحويل وجبره ويعلمون

أن القوم قد خسف بهم والثاني مثل ذلك قد حوّل وجبره إلى قفاه يأتي

السفيا فيخبره بما نزل بأصحابه فيصدقوه ويعلم أنه حق لما يرى

فيه من العلامة وهما رجلان من كلب -

٤٦- حدثنا ابن وهب عن ابن لهيعة عن فلان المعافري سمع أبا فراس سمع

عبد الله بن عمرو يقول إذا خسف بجيش بالبيداء فزوعلامته خروج

المهدى -

٤٧- حدثنا أبو يوسف عن محمد بن عبيد الله بن يزيد بن السدائي عن كعب

قال علامة خروج المهدى الوية تقبل من المغرب على رجل أعرج

من كندة -



٤٨- حدثنا ابن المبارك وابن ثور وعبد الرزاق عن معمر عن ابن طاووس عن  
علي بن عبد الله بن عباس قال لا يخرج المهدي حتى تطلع الشمس آية -  
٤٩- حدثنا يحيى بن اليمان عن المنزال بن خليفة عن مطهر الوراق قال لا يخرج  
المهدي حتى يكفر بالله جهره -

٥٠- حدثنا يحيى بن اليمان عن كيسان الرواسي القصار وكان ثقة قال حدثني  
مولاي قال سمعت علياً رضي الله عنه يقول لا يخرج المهدي حتى يقتل  
ثلاث ويموت ثلاث ويبقى ثلاث -

٥١- حدثنا رشدين عن ابن لهيعة عن أبي قبيل قال اجتمع الناس على  
المهدي سنة أربع ومائتين قال ابن لهيعة بحساب العبد ليس  
بحساب العرب -

٥٢- قال ابو عبد الله نعيم وأخبرت عن ابن عباس عن سالم بن عبد الله عن  
أبي محمد عن رجل من أهل المغرب قال لا يخرج المهدي حتى يخرج  
الرجل بالجارية الحناء الجملاء فيقول من يشتري هذه بوزن طعماً  
ثم يخرج المهدي -

٥٣- حدثنا سعيد ابو عثمان عن جابر عن أبي جعفر قال ينادي مناد من السماء  
ألا إن الحق في آل محمد وينادي مناد من الأرض ألا إن الحق في آل  
عيسى أو قال العباس أنا أشك فيه وإنما الصوت الأسفل من الشيطان  
يلبس على الناس شك ابو عبد الله نعيم -

٥٤- حدثنا ابن وهب عن إسحاق بن يحيى التميمي عن المغيرة بن عبد الرحمن  
عن أمه وكانت قد ريمة قال قلت لها في فتنة ابن الزبير ان هذه الفتنة  
بيهلك فيها الناس فقالت كلاً يا بني ولكن بعد ما فتنة بهلك فيها  
الناس لا يستقيم أمرهم حتى ينادي مناد من السماء عليكم فلان -  
٥٥- حدثنا رشدين عن ابن لهيعة قال حدثني أبو زرعة عن عبد الله بن  
زريق عن عمار بن ياسر رضي الله عنه قال اذا قتل النفس الزكية  
وأخوه يقتل بمكة ضيعة تادي من السماء ان أميركم فلان  
وزالك المهدي الذي يملأ الأرض حقاً وعدلاً -

٥٦- قال ابو يوسف فحدثني محمد بن عبيد الله عن عمرو بن شعيب عن  
أبيه عن عبد الله بن عمرو رضي الله عنهما قال حجج الناس معاً و  
يعرفون معاً على غير إمام فبينما هم نزول بمنى إذ أخذهم كالطرب  
فثارت القبائل بعضهم إلى بعض فاقتتلوا حتى تسيل العقبة

دماً فيفزعون إلى خيرهم فيأتونه وهو ملصق وجهه إلى الكعبة  
يبكى كائى. أنظر إلى دموعه فيقولون هلم فلنبايعك فيقول ويحكم  
كم من عهد نقضتموه وكم من دم قد سفكتموه فيبايع كرها  
فإن أركتموه فبايعوه فإنه المهدى في الأرض والمهدى في السماء.  
٥٧- حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم عن أبي عبد الله عن الوليد بن هشام المعيطي  
عن أبيان بن الوليد بن عقبة بن أبي معيط سمع ابن عباس رضي الله عنه  
يقول يبعث الله تعالى المهدى بعد إياس وحتى يقول الناس  
لالمهدى وأنصاره ناس من أهل الشام عدتهم ثلاثمائة وخمسة  
عشر رجلاً عدة أصحاب بدر يسرون إليه من الشام حتى يستخرجوه  
من بطن مكة من دار عند الصفا فيبايعونه كرها فيصلى بهم ركعتين  
صلاة المسافر عند المقام ثم يصعد المنبر.

٥٨- حدثنا أبو يوسف عن فطر بن خليفة عن الحسن بن عبد الرحمن العكلى  
عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال يبايع المهدى بين الركن والمقام  
لا يوقظ نائماً ولا يرقي رماً.

٥٩- حدثنا ابن ثور وعبد الرزاق عن معمر بن قتادة قال قال رسول  
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه يخرج من المدينة إلى مكة  
فيستخرجونه الناس من بينهم فيبايعونه بين الركن والمقام  
وهو كاره.

٦٠- حدثنا عبد الوهاب الثقفي عن اليوب عن ابن سيرين عن أبي الجلد قال  
يأنيه أمارته ضنيا وهو في بيته.

٦١- حدثنا سعيد أبو عثمان عن جابر عن أبي جعفر قال ثم يظهر المهدى  
بمكة عند العشاء ومعه راية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
وقميصه وسيفه وعلامات ونور وبيان فاذا صلى العشاء نادى  
بأعلى صوته يقول أذكركم الله أيها الناس ومقامكم بين يدي ركب  
فقد اتخذ الحجة وبعث الأنبياء وأنزل الكتاب وأمركم أن لا  
تشركوأبه شيئاً وإن تخافطوا على طاعته وطاعة رسوله وأن  
تحيوا ما أحيا القرآن وتميتوا ما أمات وتكونوا أعوانا على المهدى  
ووزراً على التقوى فإن الدنيا قد دنا فناؤها وزوالها وآزنت  
بالوراع فاني أدعوكم إلى الله وإلى رسوله والعمل بكتابيه  
واماتة الباطل وإحياء سنته فيظهر في ثلاثمائة وثلاثة عشر



رحبلا عدة أهل بدر على غير ميعاد قرعاً كقرع الخريف رصبان بالليل  
أسد بالزهار فيفتح الله للمهدي أرض الحجاز ويستخرج من  
كان في السجن من بني هاشم وتنزل الرايات السود الكوفة فيبعث  
بالبيعة إلى المهدي ويبعث المهدي جنوده في الأوقاف ويميت  
الجور وأهله ويستقيم له البلدان ويفتح الله على يديه  
القسطنطينية -

٦٢- حدثنا أبو عمر عن ابن أبي عمير عن عبد الوهاب بن حسين عن محمد  
بن ثابت عن أبيه عن الحارث عن عبد الله بن مسعود رضي الله عنه  
قال إذا انقضت التجارات والطرق وكثرت الفتن خرج سبعة رجال  
علماء من أفق شتى على غير ميعاد يبايع لكل رجل منهم ثلاثمائة وبضعة  
عشر رجلاً حتى يجتمعوا بمكة فيلتقي السبعة فيقول بعضهم  
لبعض ما جاءكم فيقولون حبنا في طلب هذا الرجل الذي ينبغي أن تصدأ  
على يديه هذه الفتن ويفتح له القسطنطينية قد عرفناه بإسمه واسم  
أبيه وأمه وحالته فيتفق السبعة على ذلك فيطلبونه فيصيبونه  
بمكة فيقولون له أنت فلان بن فلان فيقول لا بل أنا رجل من الأنصار  
حتى نفلت منهم فيصفونه لأهل الخبرة والمعرفة به فيقال هو صاحبكم  
الذي تطلبونه وقد لحق بالمدينة فيطلبونه بالمدينة فيجاء الفهد إلى مكة  
فيطلبونه بمكة فيصيبونه فيقولون أنت فلان بن فلان وأمك فلانة  
نبت فلان وفيك آية كذى وكذى وقد أفلت منا مرة فمد يدك بناييك  
فيقول لست بصاحبكم أنا فلان بن فلان الأضاري مرواناً أدلكم على  
صاحبكم حتى نفلت منهم فيطلبونه بالمدينة فيجاء الفهد إلى مكة فيصيبونه  
بمكة عند الركن فيقولون اثمنا عليك وداؤنا في غتلك ان لم تمد يدك  
بناييك هذا عسكر السفيا في قد توجه في طلبنا عليهم رجل من حرم فيجلس  
بين الركن والمقام فيمده فيبايع له ويلقي الله محبته في صدور  
الناس فيسير مع قوم أسد بالزهار رصبان بالليل -

٦٣- حدثنا أبو ثور وعبد الرزاق وابن معاذ عن معمر عن قتادة قال قال  
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يأتيه عصائب العراق وأبدال الشام  
فيبايعونه بين الركن والمقام فيلقى الإسلام بجرانه -

٦٤- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن أبي عمير عن محمد بن عمار عن  
محمد بن علي قال إذا سمع العايز الذي بمكة بالخنف خرج مع



أثنى عشر ألفاً فيجهد الأبدال حتى ينزلوا إيلياء فيقول الذي بعث الجيش حين يبلغه الخبر بإيلياء لعمر والله لقد جعل الله في هذا الرجل عبرة لعبت إليه ما بعثت فساخوا في الأرض أن هذا لعبرة وبصيرة ويوردى إليه السفيا في الطاعة ثم يخرج حتى يلقي كلباً وهم أخواله فيعيرونه بما صنع ويقولون كسالك الله قميصها فخلعته فيقول ما ترون أستقيله البيعة فيقولون نعم فيأتيه إلى إيلياء فيقول أقتلني فيقول إني غير فاعل فيقول بل فيقول له أتحب أن أقتلك فيقول نعم فيقيله ثم يقول هذا رجل قد خلع طاعتي فيأمر به عند ذلك فيذبح على بلاطه إيلياء ثم يسير إلى كلب فينصبهم فالحنايب من خاب يوم نصب كلب -

٦٥- حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم قال حدثني محمد بن أن المصدي والسفيا في وكتب يقتتلون في بيت المقدس حين يستقيله البيعة فيؤتى بالسفيا أسيراً فيأمر به فيذبح على باب الوجه ثم تباع نسأوه ونأثمهم على درج دمشق -

٦٦- حدثنا عبد القدوس عن أبي بكر قال حدثني أشياخنا قال السفيا في هو الذي يدفع الخلافة إلى المصدي -

٦٧- حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن مطر الوراق عن حدثه عن كعب قال إنما سمى المصدي لأنه يهدى لأمر قد خفي وسيخرج التوراة والإنجيل من أرض يقال لها أنطاكية -

٦٨- حدثنا يحيى بن اليمان عن سفيا الثوري عن أبي اسحاق عن نوف البكالي قال في راية المصدي مكتوب البيعة لله -

٦٩- حدثنا يحيى عن السري ابن يحيى عن ابن سيرين قيل له المصدي خير أو أبو بكر وعمر رضي الله عنهما قال هو أخير منهما ويجعل بنبي -

٧٠- حدثنا حمزة عن ابن شوزب عن مطر قال ذكر عنده عمر بن عبد العزيز فقال بلغنا أن المصدي لصنع : شيئاً لم يصنع عمر بن عبد العزيز قلنا ما هو قال يأتيه رجل فيسئله فيقول ادخل بيت المال فخذ فدخل فيأخذ فيخرج فيرى الناس شباعاً فيندم فيرجع إليه فيقول خذ ما أعطيتني فيأبى ويقول انا نعطي ولا نأخذ -

٧١- حدثنا حمزة عن ابن شوزب عن مطر عن كعب قال إنما سمى المصدي لأنه يهدى إلى أسفار من أسفار التوراة يستخرجها من جبال الشام

يدعو اليه اليهود فيسلم على تلك الكتب جماعة كثيرة ثم ذكر نحوًا من ثلاثين ألفًا -

٧٢- حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن قتادة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم انه سيخرج الكنوز وليقسم المال ويلقى الإسلام بجرانه -

٧٣- قال معمر وأخبرنا أبو هارون عن معاوية عن أبي الصديق الناجي عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يرضى عنه ساكن السماء وساكن الأرض لا تدع السماء من قطرها شيئًا إلا صبت به ولا الأرض من نباتها شيئًا إلا أخرجه حتى تيمنى الأحياء الأموات -

٧٤- حدثنا الوليد عن سعيد عن قتادة عن أبي نضرة عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يحثي المال حثيًا لا يحيدّه عدلاً مملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جورًا وظلمًا -

٧٥- حدثنا ابن وهب عن الحارث بن نهران عن عمرو بن زياد عن أبي نضرة عن أبي سعيد عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت قبله ظلمًا وجورًا عليك سبع سنين -

٧٦- حدثنا الوليد قال سمعت رجلاً يحدث قومًا فقال المحدثون ثلاثة مهدي الحخير وهو عمر بن عبد العزيز ومهدي الدّم وهو الذي سيكون عليه الدماء ومهدي الدين عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام يسلم أمته في زمانه، قال الوليد بلغني عن كعب انه قال مهدي الحخير يخرج بعد السفيا في -

٧٧- حدثنا محمد بن مروان عن عمارة بن أبي حفصة عن زيد العجمي عن أبي الصديق عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال تينعم أمتي في زمن المهدي نعمة لم ينعموا مثلاً قط ترسل السماء عليهم مدرارًا ولا تزرع الأرض شيئًا من النبات إلا أخرجه والمال كدوس يقوم الرجل فيقول يا مهدي اعطني فيقول خذ -

٧٨- حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد الطار البصري عن سليمان بن عيسى قال بلغني انه على يدي المهدي يظهر تابوت السكينة من بحيرة الطبرية حتى يحمل فيوضع بين يديه بيت المقدس فإذا نظرت إليه اليهود أسلمت إلا قليلاً منهم ثم يموت المهدي -

٧٩- حدثنا القاسم بن ملك المزني عن ياسين بن سيار قال سمعت ابراهيم بن محمد بن الحنفية قال حدثني أبي قال حدثني علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم المهدي يصاحبه الله



تعالى في ليلة واحدة -

٨٠- حدثنا أبو معاوية عن الأعمش عن عطية عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يخرج رجل من أهل بيتي عند انقطاع من الزمان وظهور من الفتن يكون عطاؤه حثيا يقال له السفاح -  
٨١- حدثنا الوليد عن سعيد عن قتادة عن أبي نضرة أو أبي الصديق عن أبي سعيد الخدري عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال المهدي أحب الجبين أقنا الأنف -

٨٢- حدثنا المعتمر بن سليمان عن عمران بن حدير عن سميط عن كعب قال المهدي ابن أحد أو اثنين وخمسين سنة -

٨٣- حدثنا الوليد عن سعيد عن قتادة عن عبد الله بن الحارث قال يخرج المهدي وهو ابن أربعين سنة كأنه رجل من بني إسرائيل -

٨٤- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن لهيعة عن إسرائيل بن عمار عن ميمون القداح عن أبي الطيفيل رضي الله عنه أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وصف المهدي فذكر ثقلا في لسانه وضرب بفخذه اليسرى بيده اليمنى إذا أبطأ عليه الكلام اسمه إسمي واسم أبيه إسم أبي -

٨٥- حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن الهيثم بن عبد الرحمن عن حدثه عن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال المهدي مولده بالمدنية من أهل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم واسمه اسم أبي ومصابره بيت المقدس كثر اللحية أكحل العينين براق الثنايا في وجهه خال أقنا أجلا في كتفه علامة النبي يخرج برأية النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من مرط محمله سورا مربعة فيأجر لم ينشر منذ توفي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولا تنشر حتى يخرج المهدي بمدة الله بثلاثة آلاف من الملائكة يضربون وجوه من خالفهم وأربارهم يبعث وهو ما بين الثلاثين إلى الأربعين -

٨٦- حدثنا الحكم بن نافع عن جراح عن أرطاة قال المهدي ابن ستين سنة -

٨٧- حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عاصم عن زر عن عبد الله عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال المهدي يواطى اسمه اسمي واسم أبيه اسم أبي وسمعه غير مرة لا يذكر اسم أبيه -

٨٨- حدثنا المعتمر عن رجل عن أبي الصديق عن أبي سعيد الخدري



رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال هو رجل من عترتي أو قال من أهل بيتي -

٨٩- حدثنا ابن عيينة عن عمرو عن أبي معبد عن ابن عباس قال المهدى شاب منا أهل البيت قال قلت عجز عن شيوخكم ويرجوها شبابكم قال يفعل الله ما يشاء -

٩٠- حدثنا الوليد وغيره عن عبد الملك بن أبي غيثة عن المنال بن عمرو عن سعيد بن جبيرة عن ابن عباس قال المهدى منا يدفعها إلى عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام -

٩١- حدثنا الوليد عن علي بن حوشب سمع مكحولاً يحدث عن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال قلت يا رسول الله المهدى منا أئمة المهدى أم من غيرنا قال بل منا بنا نختار الدين كما بنا فتح وبنا يستنقذون من ضلالة الفتنة كما استنقذوا من ضلالة الشوك وبنا يؤلف الله بين قلوبهم في الدين بعد عداوة الفتنة كما ألف الله بين قلوبهم ودينهم بعد عداوة الشرك -

٩٢- حدثنا الوليد عن سعيد عن قتادة عن أبي الصديق عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال هو رجل من أمتي -

٩٣- حدثنا الوليد ورشد بن عن ابن لرسية عن أبي قبيل عن عبد الله بن عمرو رضي الله عنه قال يخرج رجل من ولد الحسين من قبل المشرق لو استقبلته الجبال لهدمها واتخذ فيا طريقا -

٩٤- حدثنا ابن اريس عن حسين بن فرات عن أبيه عن أفلت بن صالح عن عبد الله بن الحارث أو عن عبد الله بن الحارث عن أفلت بن صالح قال قلت لمحمد بن الحنفية في المهدى قال انه اذا كان فاته من ولد عبد شمس -

٩٥- حدثنا ابو معاوية حدثنا ابو قبيصة عن الحسن انه سئل عن المهدى فقال ما أرى مصديا فإن كان مصدي فهو عمر بن عبد العزيز -

٩٦- حدثنا الوليد عن شيخ عن يزيد بن الوليد الخزاعي عن كعب قال المهدى من ولد العباس -

٩٧- حدثنا أبو أسامة عن هشام عن محمد قال المهدى من هذه الأمة وهو الذي يؤم عيسى بن مريم عليهما السلام -

٩٨- حدثني غير واحد عن حماد بن سلمة عن حميد عن الحسن قال هو  
علي بن مريم -

٩٩- حدثنا بقرية بن الوليد عن أبي بكر بن أبي مريم عن ضمرة بن حبيب  
عن أبي هزّان عن كعب قال المصدي من ولد فاطمة -

١٠٠- حدثنا غير واحد عن ابن عياش عن حدثه عن محمد بن جعفر عن  
علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه قال سمى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم  
الحسن سيّدًا وسيخرج من صلبه رجلًا اسمه اسم نبيكم  
يملا الأرض عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً -

١٠١- حدثنا بقرية وعبد القدوس عن صفوان عن شريح ابن عبيد عن كعب  
قال ما المصدي إلا من قرش ومن قرش ما الخلافة إلا فيهم غير أن له أصلًا  
ونسبًا في الهمين -

١٠٢- حدثنا غير واحد عن ابن عياش قال حدثني سالم قال كتب نخبة إلى ابن  
عباس يسأله عن المصدي فقال إن الله تعالى صدى هذه الأمة  
بأول أهل هذا البيت وسيتمنقذها بآخرهم لا ينتطح فيه  
عنزان حبلًا وذات قرن وقال مصديان من بني عبد شمس أحدهما  
عمر الأشجج -

١٠٣- حدثنا الحكم بن نافع عن جراح عن أرطاة قال يبقى المصدي أربعين  
عامًا -

١٠٤- حدثنا أبو معاوية عن موسى الجهنّي عن زيد الحمّي عن أبي الصديق  
عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه عن النبي صلى الله عليه  
وسلم قال المصدي يعيش في ذلك يعني بعد ما ملك سبع  
سنين أو ثمان أو تسع -

١٠٥- حدثنا بقرية بن الوليد وعبد القدوس عن أبي بكر بن مريم عن ضمرة  
بن حبيب قال حياة المصدي ثلاثون سنة -

١٠٦- حدثنا بقرية وعبد القدوس عن أبي بكر بن مريم عن يزيد بن سلمان  
عن دينار بن دينار قال بقا المصدي أربعون سنة وقال أحدهما  
مرة أربعين ومرة أربع وعشرين -

حدثنا عبد الله بن مروان عن سعيد بن يزيد التميمي عن الزهري  
قال يعيش المصدي أربع عشرة سنة ثم يموت موتًا -

١٠٧- حدثنا بقرية بن الوليد والوليد بن مسلم عن أبي بكر بن أبي مريم



حدثني يزيد بن سلمان عن دينار بن دينار قال بلغني أن المصدي إذا مات صار الأمر حرجاً بين الناس ويقتل بعضهم بعضاً وظهرت الأعاجم واتصلت الملاحم فلا نظام ولا جماعة حتى يخرج الرجال -

١٠٨- حدثنا عبد الرزاق عن معمر عن ابن أبي ذئب عن سعيد بن أبي سعيد المقبري عن أبي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال لا تذهب الأيام والليالي حتى يسوق الناس رجل من قحطان -

١٠٩- حدثنا الوليد عن معاوية بن يحيى عن أرطاة بن المنذر عن حكيم بن عمير عن تبيع عن كعب قال على يدي ذاك اليماني تكون ملحمة عكا الصخرى وذلك إذا ملك الخامس من أهل هرقل -

١١٠- حدثنا ابن وهب عن ابن لهيعة عن الحارث بن يزيد سمع عقبة بن راشد الصدفي قال حدثنا عبد الله بن الحجاج قال سمعت عبد الله بن عمرو ابن العاص بعد الجبابرة الجابر ثم المصدي ثم المنصور ثم السلام ثم أمير الغضب فمن قدر أن يموت بعد ذلك فليمت -

١١١- حدثنا الوليد عن حبراح عن أرطاة قال على يدي ذلك الخليفة اليماني وفي ولايته تفتح رومية -

١١٢- حدثنا الوليد بن مسلم عن حبراح عن أرطاة قال ينزل المصدي بيت المقدس ثم يكون خلفاً من أهل بيته بعده تطول مدتهم وتجيرون حتى يصلي الناس على بني العباس وبني أمية مما يليقون منهم قال حبراح أجالهم ما بين سنة -

١١٣- حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله التيهري عن عبد السلام بن مسلمة عن أبي قبيل قال لا يكون بعد المصدي أحد من أهل بيته يعدل في الناس وليطولت حورهم على الناس بعد المصدي حتى يصلي الناس على بني العباس ويقولون يا ليتهم مكانهم فلا يزال الناس كذلك حتى يغزوهم واليههم القسطنطينية وهو رجل صالح يسلموا إلى عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام ولا يزال الناس في رخاء ما لم يتبعه مملوك بني العباس فإذا انتقض مملكه لم يزالوا في فتن حتى يقوم المصدي -

١١٤- حدثنا يحيى بن سعيد الطار عن سليمان بن عيسى وكان علامة في الفتن قال بلغني أن المصدي يمكث أربعة عشر بيت المقدس ثم يموت ثم يكون من بعده شريف الذكر من قوم تبيع يقال له منصور بيت المقدس أحدى وعشرين سنة خمسة عشر مئة عدل



وثلاث سنين حبور وثلاث سنين منها حرمان الأموال لا يعطى  
أحد درهم تقسم أهل الذمّة بين مقاتلته وهو الذى ينقى  
الموالى عمق الأعماق وهو الذى يدوس ولد اسماعيل كما يدوس البقر  
الأند وهو الذى يخرج عليه المولى اسمه اسم نبيّ وكنيته  
كنية نبيّ يشير اليه من الأعماق حتى يبقى منصور بطن أرحياء  
فيقاتله فيقتله ثم يملك المولى ونيقى ولد قحطان وولد اسماعيل  
إلى مدينتي كنز العرب المدينة وصنعاء وهو الذى يخرج على يديه  
الترك والروم حتى يملكو ما بين عمق انطاكية إلى جبل الكر بل بفلسطين  
بمخرج مدينة عكا يملك المولى ثلاث سنين ثم يقتل ثم يملك من  
بعده هب المصدي الثاني وهو الذى يقتل الروم ويزمهم  
ويفتح القسطنطينية ويقيم فيها ثلاث سنين وأربعة أشهر وعشرة  
أيام ثم ينزل عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام الملك إليه -  
١١٥- حدثنا رشدين عن ابن لهيعة عن أبي قبيل عن عبد الله بن عمرو  
قال بعد المصدي الذى يخرج أهل اليمن إلى بلادهم ثم المنصور  
ثم من بعده المصدي الذى يفتح على يديه مدينة الروم -  
١١٦- حدثنا رشدين عن ابن لهيعة عن عبد الرحمن بن قيس الصدي  
عن أبيه عن حبه عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال القحطاني  
بعد المصدي والذى بعثني بالحق ما صورته -  
١١٧- قال الوليد قال جراح عن أرطاة على يدى ذلك الخليفة وهو يمان  
تكون غزوة الهند التي قال فيها البهريّة -  
١١٨- حدثنا الوليد وغيره عن عبد الله بن أبي عتبة عن المنهال بن عمرو  
عن سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عباس رضى الله عنه انه ذكروا عنده  
اثني عشر خليفة ثم الأمير فقال ابن عباس والله نزعنا بعد ذلك  
السفاح والمنصور والمصدي يدفعها إلى عيسى بن مريم -  
١١٩- حدثنا الحكم بن نافع عن جراح عن أرطاة قال بلغني ان المصدي  
يعيش أربعين عاماً ثم يموت على فراشه ثم يخرج رجل من قحطان  
مثقوب الأذنين على سيرة المصدي بقاؤه عشرين سنة ثم يموت  
قتلاً بالسلاح ثم يخرج رجل من أهل بيت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم  
مصدي حسن السيرة يفتح مدينة قيصر وهو آخر أمير من أمة  
محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم يخرج في زمانه الدجال وينزل

في زمانه عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام -

١٢٠- حدثنا الوليد حدثنا صفوان بن عمرو عن محمد بن عبد الله عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال يغزو قوم من أمتي الهند نفتح الله عليهم حتى يأثوا ملوك الهند مغلولين في السلاسل فيخضع الله لهم ذنوبهم فيصرفون إلى الشام فيجدون عيسى بن مريم صلى الله عليه وسلم بالشام -

١٢١- أ- حدثنا أبو معاوية عن داود بن أبي هند عن الشعبي عن جابر بن سمرة رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم لا يزال هذا الأمر عزيزاً إلى اثنا عشر خليفة كلهم من قرشي -

رواية أبي داود [حدثنا عمرو بن عثمان أخبرنا مروان بن معاوية عن اسماعيل يعني ابن أبي خالد عن أبيه عن جابر بن سمرة قال : سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول : لا يزال هذا الدين قائماً حتى يكون عليكم اثنا عشر خليفة كلهم من نسلهم عليه الأمانة " فسمعت كلاماً من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لم أفهمه فقلت لأبي ما يقول : قال كلهم من قرشي ] (ب) رواية أبي داود [حدثنا موسى بن اسماعيل أخبرنا وهيب أخبرنا داود عن عامر عن جابر بن سمرة قال سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول : لا يزال هذا الدين عزيزاً إلى اثني عشر خليفة قال فكبر الناس وضجوا ثم قال كلمة خفيفة قلت لأبي يا أبت ما قال : قال كلهم من قرشي ] (ج) رواية أبي داود [حدثنا ابن نافع أخبرنا زهير أخبرنا زياد بن خيثمة أخبرنا الأسود بن سعيد الحمدي عن جابر بن سمرة بهذا الحديث ، زاد : فلما رجع إلى منزله أتته قريش فقالوا ثم يكون ما ذا ؟ قال ثم يكون الحرج ]

١٢٢- حدثنا نعيم حدثنا حمزة بن ربيعة عن يحيى بن أبي عمرو السيباني عن عمرو بن عبد الله الحضرمي عن أبي أمانة الباهلي رضي الله عنه قال ذكر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الرجال [ وقال فتنفى المدينة الخبيث كما تنفى الكبر خبيث الحديد ويدهن ذلك اليوم يوم الخلاص ] فقالت أم شريك فآين المسلمون يومئذ يا رسول الله قال [ هم يومئذ قليل وجاههم ] ببیت المقدس وراما ما للناس يومئذ [ المهدي ] رجل صالح - ( الزيادة بيه المحقوفين من أبي نعيم )



القسم الثالث : أحاديث أخرجه المحدثون المتأخرون

١- حدثنا عثمان بن أبي شيبة ثنا الفضل بن دكين أخبرنا  
فطر عن القاسم بن أبي بزة عن أبي الطغيلة عن عاصم عن النبي صلى  
الله عليه وسلم قال : لو لم يبق من الدهر إلا يومًا لبعث الله رجلًا  
من أهل بيتي يملأها عدلاً كما ملئت جوراً - أخرجه

البوراء وأحمد والترمذي ،

٢- وقال هارون حدثنا عمرو بن أبي قيس عن مطرف بن طريف عن الحسن  
عن صلال بن عمرو قال سمعت علياً كرم الله وجهه يقول : قال النبي  
صلى الله عليه وسلم : يخرج رجل من وراء النهر يقال له الحارث بن  
حذان على مقدمته رجل يقال له منصور يوطئ أو يمكّن لآل محمد  
كما مكنت قريش لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وجب على كل مؤمن  
نصره أو إجابته - أخرجه البوراء .

٣- حدثنا حرملة بن يحيى المصري وأبراهيم بن سعيد الجوهري قال حدثنا  
ابو صالح عبد الغفار بن راءد الحزازي حدثنا ابن لهيعة عن أبي زرعة  
عمرو بن جابر الحضرمي عن عبد الله بن الحارث بن حبة الزبيدي  
قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : يخرج الناس من  
المشرق فيوطئون للمهدي يعني السلطان - أخرجه ابن ماجه .

٤- عن يونس بن عبد الأعلى عن الشافعي عن محمد بن خالد الجندبي  
عن أبيان بن صالح عن الحسن بن أنس بن مالك أن رسول الله صلى  
الله عليه وسلم قال : لا يزداد الأمر إلا شدة ولا الدنيا إلا أدياراً  
ولا الناس إلا أشجاً ولا تقوم الساعة إلا على شرار الناس وما المهدي  
إلا عيسى بن مريم - أخرجه ابن ماجه .

٥- حدثنا خلف بن أحمد بن العباس الرامهرمزي في كتابه حدثنا همام  
بن أحمد بن أيوب حدثنا طالوت بن عباد حدثنا سويد بن إبراهيم  
عن حمور بن عمرو عن أبي سلمة بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف عن  
أبيه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ليبعثن الله من  
عترتي رجلاً أفرق الثنايا أحلب الحجة يملأ الأرض عدلاً  
يفيض المال في زمنه فيضاً - أخرجه البويعيم

٦- حدثنا قيس بن الربيع عن أبي حصين عن أبي صالح عن أبي هريرة  
قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : لا تقوم الساعة حتى

يملك رجل من أهل بيتي يفتح القسطنطينية وجبل الدليل ولوله  
بيتني إلا يوم طول الله ذلك اليوم حتى يفتحها ، أخرجه يحيى بن  
عبد الحميد الحماني في مسنده -

٧- وقال ابو نعيم حدثنا ابو الفرج الاصبهاني حدثنا أحمد بن  
الحسين حدثنا ابو جعفر بن طارق عن الجيد بن زظيف عن أبي نضرة  
عن أبي سعيد قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : من الذي  
يصلني عيسى بن مريم خلفه - أخرجه ابو نعيم

٨- وقال الحارث بن أبي أسامة في مسنده حدثنا اسماعيل بن عبد الكريم  
حدثنا ابراهيم بن عقيل عن أبيه عن وهب بن منبه عن جابر  
قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : ينزل عيسى بن مريم  
فيقول أميرهم المهدى تعال صل بنا فيقول لا ، ان بعضهم أمير  
بعض تكرمته الله لهذه الأمة -

٩- قال الطبراني حدثنا أحمد قال حدثنا ابو جعفر قال حدثنا محمد  
بن مسلمة عن أبي الواصل عن أبي الصديق الناجي عن الحسن بن يزيد  
السعدي أحد بني بهدلة عن أبي سعيد الخدري رضي الله عنه قال  
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يخرج رجل من أهل بيتي يعمل سنتي  
وينزل الله له البركة من السماء وتخرج له الأرض بركتها ويميل الأرض  
عدلاً كما ملئت ظلماً ويعمل على هذه الأمة سبع سنين وينزل بيت  
المقدس - رواه الطبراني وابو نعيم والإمام

١٠- قال البيهقي أخبرنا الحاكم أخبرنا ابو زكريا العنبري حدثنا محمد بن  
عميد قرأت على الحسن بن جبرير الصوري عن علي بن هاشم أخبرنا خالد  
بن يزيد حدثنا محمد بن ابراهيم أن أمير المؤمنين المهدى  
حدثه عن أبيه عن ابن عباس قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
لن تملك أمة أنا في أولها وعيسى بن مريم في آخرها والمهدى في وسطها ،  
رواه البيهقي والحاكم وابو نعيم

١١- قال ابن أبي شيبة عن عبد الله بن نمير حدثنا موسى الجهمي قال حدثني عمر بن قيس  
الماهر قال حدثني مجاهد قال حدثني فلان رجل من أصحاب النبي صلى الله  
عليه وسلم ان المهدى لا يخرج حتى تقتل النفس الزكية فإذا قتلت النفس  
الزكية غضب عليهم من في السماء ومن في الأرض فألقى الناس المهدى  
فزقوه كما تنزف العروس إلى زوجها ليلة عرسها وهو ميل الأرض



قسطاً وعدلاً وتخرج الأرض نباتها وتمطر السماء مطرها وتنعم  
امتى في ولايته نعمة لم تنعم بها قط - رواه ابن أبي شيبة

---

# أَجْرُ الْأَمَلِ مِنْ كِتَابِ الْفِتَنِ

تأليف سيّد عبد الله نجيم بن حماد المروزي  
رحمه الله تعالى

هـ  
ب

عزّ الله  
والمؤمنين

KITAB AL-FITAN  
by NU'AIM b. HAMMAD

Photocopy of the title cover  
of the British Manuscript.



[illegible]





كتاب الفتن في الدين والحكم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا  
الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله  
والذي هدانا الله لنكونن من  
الغالبين

هذا الكتاب هو من  
أشهر الكتب في  
الدين والحكم  
والذي هو من  
أشهر الكتب في  
الدين والحكم

KITAB AL-FITAN  
by NU'AIM b. HAMMAD

Photocopy of the title cover  
Atif Effendi manuscript.



